

IN THESE TIMES

Perfumed
Nightmare

Page 12



VOL. 5, NO. 34

SEPTEMBER 2-8, 1981

\$1.00

Big Labor

Backs

The Little Guy

The New York
Mayoralty Race



To the Shores of Tripoli

Diana Johnstone on Libya

Page 7

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE INSIDE STORY



The General Federation of Labor (CGT) welcomed the amnesty, since its members have been targets of anti-union firings.

French labor has a friend in the palace

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

French workers in trouble with their bosses have been "amnestied" by the new Socialist government. For the first time in history, the traditional presidential amnesty law following the election of a new head of state was extended by parliament to the area of labor-management relations. Workers fired for their union activity during the seven-year presidency of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing may demand their jobs back.

The presidential amnesty traditionally pardons misdemeanors, short-term criminal convictions and certain political offenses (such as draft refusal). Each amnesty requires special legislation and this time Socialist deputy Michel Suchod introduced a breakthrough amendment extending amnesty benefits to employees.

"The heads of companies exercise over their employees the three powers—legislative, executive and judicial—that elsewhere are separate," observes Suchod. His amendment is the first move by the new left majority in the national assembly to break down the absolutism of the business world.

There are two parts to the labor amnesty, which became law on Aug. 4. The first part wiped employees' slates clean of "faults" noted against them that could be used as grounds for sanction or eventual dismissal. The amnesty does not cover acts leading to criminal conviction or involving a breach of "honesty, moral standards or honor." The law provides that any employer who refers back to an amnestied matter can be taken before a labor court and fined from 500 to 10,000 francs.

The second part stipulates that anyone fired since Jan. 1, 1975, for any reason relating to activities as a union delegate or elected personnel representative has three months to demand reinstatement in the same or an equivalent job. The employer is bound to take him or her back "if possible." If the employer replies that it is impossible, this claim must be verified by the government Labor Inspector. Disputed cases go before the labor relations court, whose judges are elected by workers and employers.

The General Confederation of Labor (CGT) was particularly pleased with the amnesty, since its delegates were the main victims of the accelerated dismissals of union militants during Giscard's presidency. While less than 1,000 dismissals of union delegates were registered in 1974, there were nearly 3,500 in 1976, and while no reliable figures are available after that,

official studies indicated that the number of delegates fired doubled again between 1975 and 1977, whereas economic layoffs increased only 12 percent in the same two-year period. Already protected by the law, union delegates have mostly been fired ostensibly for "economic" reasons, but the statistics indicate that bosses arranged to eliminate jobs held by union delegates first.

The amnesty is expected to lead to reinstatement of only about 1,000 employees, as most employers will probably be able to show "impossibility" and many workers have since found other jobs. But it signals the new left majority's strong interest in workplace rights and freedoms.

Voices, not wages.

The French Democratic Labor Confederation (CFDT) is tending to put such "qualitative" demands ahead of wage increases, especially in this difficult economic period, and recently defined three main objectives of its opening campaign to expand workers' rights.

1. Oblige management to negotiate with union representatives concerning work conditions. CFDT legal expert Jean Paul Murcier explained that, at present, working conditions are, in practice, determined unilaterally by the bosses, even though they are supposed to consult employees. The problem then for the union is to make management negotiate seriously on union proposals, and the CFDT's idea is to insist on a certain lead time to allow for a full exchange. But "the obligation to negotiate is not the obligation to reach an agreement," and at the end of that time the boss recovers his freedom of action. The CFDT thinks it would "not be realistic to demand third-party arbitration in this period."

The CFDT wants the unions to be able to negotiate with management on four general problems. First, questions concerning the organization of real wages, such as job classifications that create inequalities between men and women. Second, the organization of working hours. Third, employees' right to express themselves on working conditions during their paid working hours. And fourth, the organization of training courses in the enterprise aimed at raising workers' job qualifications in order to assure participation of women as well as men and in general to respond to worker's needs.

2. Extend the advantages of union representation and collective bargaining to employees of small business. This is particularly crucial at a time when the only hope for creating new jobs lies in small and medium enterprises, where unionization has always been difficult if not impossible. Because of these difficulties, special rules are needed to enable employees of small firms to exercise their union rights. The CFDT proposes putting firms with only 10 to 50 employees under cover of a local organization with certain rights of representation and negotiation. Whereas in large enterprises, personnel elect their representatives on a proportional basis from lists proposed by the various unions, the CFDT suggests that for practical reasons personnel in small firms should be represented only by a single union, the one that gets a majority of votes in the annual election.

The CFDT also proposes that elected personnel delegates be allowed to circulate freely on union business during 15 paid working hours per month. Taking into consideration the financial problems of small employers, the CFDT suggests that they should be allowed tax deductions for any expenses involved in enabling their employees to exercise their union rights.

3. Improve the situation of part-time and sub-contractual workers whose jobs are insecure and who are

deprived of many collective benefits such as paid vacations, promotions and the chance to take part in union life. The CFDT seems still to be searching for a strategy to force the big companies that use part-time employees hired through agencies or sub-contracted services (such as janitorial service) to take responsibility for these employees.

Underlying these demands is a whole philosophy of workers' rights and freedoms forged through the history of political and labor struggles in France. Also implicit is a concept of progress as the preservation and expansion of democratic rights won by the people in their struggles against wealth and privilege. Thus the French labor movement, on the whole, despite its division between organizations reflecting different political orientations, finds natural allies in the liberal middle classes as heir to the democratic political tradition.

But to the more revolutionary wing of the labor movement the CFDT program appears extremely timid. The expansion of rights mainly concerns having a say in working conditions. Is this all the CFDT means by "self-management," by the *autogestion* that was so widely hailed a decade ago as the new key to democratic socialism? What has happened to the notion of workers' control of production and, above all, investment?

The fact is that the CFDT, and certain Socialists, began losing enthusiasm for *autogestion* about four or five years ago—about the time the CGT and the Communists decided it sounded like a good idea. And for the same reason. That is, it dawned on everyone about then that if the nationalized industries were turned over to the workers, the workers in those industries, who mostly belong to the CGT, just might turn them over to the Communists. That prospect was a major unspoken source of the wrangling over nationalizations that led to the 1977 split between the Socialists and the Communists. It remains a major potential source of the strife within the left, as well as a formidable obstacle to the democratization of the nationalized industries.



Onward and upward

Thanks to our readers, we resume our weekly publication schedule this month in good shape. The response to our summer appeals has been gratifying: more than 2,000 new gift subscriptions have boosted circulation to its highest level since *In These Times* began publication almost five years ago. Total circulation at the end of August was 24,737, compared to 19,543 last year at this time. To keep readers abreast of our growth, we will be publishing comparative circulation figures every other week from now on.

(ISSN 0160-5992)

IN THESE TIMES

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

Published 42 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, fourth week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June, July and August by The Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622, (312) 489-4444. Institute for Policy Studies National Offices, 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

PUBLISHERS

William Sennett James Weinstein

EDITORIAL

Editor

James Weinstein

Associate Editors Managing Editor

John Judis, Lee Aitken
David Moberg

Culture Editor

Pat Aufderheide

European Editor

Diana Johnstone

Staff: Josh Kornbluth, Assistant Managing Editor; John Echeverri-Gent,

Jim Steiker, Editorial Assistants; Susan Williams, Intern.

Correspondents:

DENVER: Timothy Lange, (303) 492-6272.

NEW YORK: Kate Ellis, (212) 662-6232.

PITTSBURGH: Eric Davin, (412) 621-3185.

SAN FRANCISCO: Thomas Brom, (415) 531-5573.

JERUSALEM: David Mandel.

TOKYO: David Fleishman.

SOUTHERN AFRICA: James North.

BUSINESS

Associate Publisher
Bob Nicklas

Executive Publisher
Al Staats

Circulation Director Advertising Director
Pat VanderMeer Bill Rehm

Outreach Coordinator
Angie Fa

Staff: Anne Flanagan, Leenie Folsom, Circulation Assistants; Anne Ireland, Bookkeeper; Debby Zucker, Office Manager; Grace Faustino, Assistant Office Manager; Paul Ginger, Classified Advertising.

ART

Co-Directors:

Ann Tyler, Dolores Wilber
Tom Greensfelder

Staff: Jim Rinnert, Diane Scott, Composition; Paul Comstock, Camera.

Sponsors: Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Al Curtis, Hugh DeLacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David DuBois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Barbara Garson, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams (1905-1980), Jacques Marchand, Herbert Marcuse (1899-1979), David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jesse Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Seymour Posner, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, Derek Shearer, Stan Steiner, Warren Susman, E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weisstein, William A. Williams, John Womack, Jr.

The entire contents of *In These Times* is copyright © 1981 by Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Complete issues of *In These Times* or single-article reprints are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622. Subscriptions are \$23.50 a year (\$35.00 for institutions; \$35.00 outside the U.S. and its possessions). Advertising rates sent on request. All letters received by *In These Times* become the property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second class postage paid at Chicago, Ill.

This issue (Vol. 5, No. 34) published Sept. 2, 1981, for newsstand sales Sept. 2-8, 1981.

Stirrings of support for PATCO strike

While the national AFL-CIO leadership continues to drag its feet, some state and local labor groups have organized actions in solidarity with the striking air traffic controllers. They are hoping to generate the kind of community support urged by Suzanne Gordon in this issue (page 10).

By Paul Gottlieb

HOUSTON

IN A SHOW OF SOLIDARITY WITH striking PATCO workers, the Harris County Central Labor Council—a 100,000 member organization representing 103 local unions in Houston, Texas—rallied on Aug. 22 on the grounds of the Federal Aviation Administration's facility at Houston Intercontinental Airport. Though marred by strategy differences among state and local union officials, the rally drew a spirited group of some 1,500 PATCO supporters from some 25 international unions, who withstood summer heat and the usual fare of rally speeches to send a

By Tom Brom

OAKLAND, CA

THREE WEEKS AFTER PRESIDENT Reagan fired an entire union, organized labor in the Bay Area staged its biggest demonstrations yet in support of the 12,000 striking air traffic controllers.

More than a thousand trade unionists gathered in the early morning hours on Aug. 21 for a show of strength at the San Francisco International, Oakland International, and San Jose Municipal airports. In San Francisco, 500 people shut down one ramp to the departure gates; in Oakland, 300 demonstrators



Scott Van Orsdol

file of both unions has been solid, especially in the Bay Area. But Winpisinger isn't going out on a limb."

In fact, the International Association of Machinists local in San Jose adopted a resolution asking IAM president William Winpisinger to call for shutting down major airports for 48 hours. The international has not replied.

"We're not going to close down any airports," says Dick Groulx, secretary treasurer of the Alameda County Central Labor Council. "I was impressed by Friday's demonstrations but we have to do it again, and do it regularly, if we're going to convince airline passengers and the general public that we're right."

The gingerly approach of the union internationals, however, has opened the door for more militant action by small rank-and-file support committees—a move that frightens airport union insiders

who fear an even greater disaster.

"None of the airport unions is ready to go out yet," says one. "If the strike's not there on the shop floor, you're inviting an even worse defeat by going out. This was clearly a provoked strike, clearly a targeted union, clearly an orchestrated campaign by the administration. What we need most is to build that understanding among the airport rank and file."

Glen Martin, spokesperson for the California Labor Federation, believes the administration will eventually reopen negotiations with PATCO, but not because of any general strike threat by the AFL-CIO. "The federation doesn't have that kind of power," he says. "If Reagan comes around it will have to be because the airlines are hurting, the flights are dangerous, and the country is facing years of curtailed air service while the new people are being trained."

U.S. subs may not get the message

In a recent "Inside Story" column (In These Times, Aug. 12), John Judis reported on the vulnerability of U.S. military communications systems to disruption by the "electromagnetic pulse" produced by a single nuclear explosion in outer space. This article concludes his analysis of the weak links in strategic communications.

By John Judis

ON THE MORNING OF APRIL 9, in the East China Sea about 100 miles southwest of the Japanese port of Sasebo, an American nuclear submarine, carrying nuclear weapons, collided with and sank a Japanese freighter. Two Japanese seamen drowned and 15 others had to drift in rafts for 18 hours before being rescued by a Japanese warship. The American submarine, the *George Washington*, made no attempt to rescue the survivors.

The causes of this accident and the reasons why the submarine allowed the freighter to go down unaided are shrouded in the deepest military fog. Initial U.S.

Navy reports claimed that the submarine watched the freighter steam away after the collision and then, assuming that no serious damage had been done, resubmerged and sped away. Since then, there have been no further comments.

But from a source close to one of the private firms investigating the accident, one interesting detail of the accident has been learned: Contrary to the initial report, the submarine was aware that the Japanese freighter would sink, but attempts to ascertain through radio contact the identity of the ship—whether it was Japanese, South or North Korean, or Chinese—failed, and the crew were therefore left to fend for themselves. The reason for this failure was not ignorance on the part of American or Japanese officials, but difficulties in the submarine's radio transmission.

While this version of the accident cannot be confirmed—and perhaps never will be—it raises certain disturbing possibilities about what military strategists call "Command-Control-Communications," or C³. If a nuclear submarine could not ascertain the national identity of a nearby ship, how it is going to receive reliable in-

Continued on page 8



Much of the credit for organizing the Houston rally (top right) goes to Chuck Bertani (above), president of the Texas Machinists.

simple but strong message to Ronald Reagan: "We're going to roll the union on."

Federal and local law enforcement officers lined the roof of the adjacent FAA building and a temporary jail was constructed to house potential disrupters. But "calm" was the order of the day.

Chuck Bertani, president of International Association of Machinists Local 15 and head of the statewide association of Machinists, called on all workers to remember that "if PATCO goes down, we all go down, and I'm going to tell you that the water is real cold." Bertani urged more militant actions against the current spate of anti-union political leaders.

Rep. Mickey Leland, a Houston-area congressman and member of the congressional black caucus, stressed the parallels between the labor movement and the civil rights movement. Leland invoked the name of Martin Luther King, Jr. who was killed during a labor struggle in Memphis, Tennessee. But Leland's clear call for civil disobedience was never translated into action by the cheering crowd.

Finally, Rosa Walker, an officer of the Texas AFL-CIO and statewide director of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, warned listeners not to forget about PATCO after this rally, but rather to "get out and talk to your union brothers and sisters."

Bertani, the inspiration for this event, had initially pushed for a more militant show of support. He was "disappointed" in the rally and blamed his less militant union counterparts for the small turnout. "Labor leaders need to have more guts if we're going to win this." He may have a point.

Paul Gottlieb works for AFSCME in Houston.

IN SHORT

Your tax dollars at work

Lawrence Johnson, a reporter for *Mother Jones* and the Pacific News Service, returned to the U.S. late last month after 17 days of imprisonment in Bogota, Colombia. Johnson reportedly was arrested at the Bogota airport on Aug. 6 as he was about to leave the country after three months of interviewing leftist guerrillas and traveling to remote areas of the country for a story about Colombia's political and economic conditions. Security police said they found photos of armed leftist guerrillas in his luggage and turned him over to the army for possible trial as a collaborator with subversive elements. Johnson says the army interrogators repeatedly told him that he would be executed as they beat and tortured him and also tortured a Colombian friend in his presence. All this in a country that, according to Penny Lernoux in *The Nation*, receives more U.S. military aid than any other South American nation.

Among those who initially expressed concern about Johnson's fate was the Committee to Protect Journalists, a New York-based group that was formed earlier this year in response to violence directed toward news gatherers around the world. According to staff member Peggy Seeger, when the committee first called the State Department days after the arrest, the government's man said he had no idea who Johnson was. Communications were later improved.

A real downer

According to internal memos from the Airline Pilots Association, the Zodiac News Service reports, many pilots are concerned that flying conditions have deteriorated since the air traffic controllers' strike began. Tom Sheppard, chairman of the pilot association's air traffic control committee, says that three definite trends indicate a decreasing level of safety under the present makeshift system: fatigue and improper qualifications among the controllers now at work; a rise in the number of military and private aircraft flying at low altitudes, in the zone where commercial planes take off and land; and the closing by the Federal Aviation Administration of some airport control towers without a concomitant reduction in air traffic. A pilots' union memo dated Aug. 11 also stated that there has been "general deterioration in the air traffic control system," adding that two pilots were so worried that they wouldn't fly.

In cold type—part 2

In our Aug. 12 issue, "In Short" reported that the U.S. was reactivating a 1963 regulation requiring the licensing of individuals who want to receive Cuban publications. The idea, the government informed subscribers after first impounding all Cuban periodicals en route to their mailboxes, was to keep the measly subscription fees from bloating Cuba's treasury. Later, on Aug. 17, following a flurry of protest, the Treasury Department informed lawyers for the subscribers that the regulation would be modified to remove the licensing requirement.

But just when you thought it was safe to jump back into waters protected by the First Amendment, the State Department nixed the liberalized rules. It was a surprising move, because such regulations legally fall under the authority of the Treasury—so now there's an apparent interdepartmental conflict. Michael Ratner, an attorney with the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR), thinks State's ire was aroused by Cuba's sponsorship of a U.N. resolution placing the issue of the colonial status of Puerto Rico on the agenda of the General Assembly. "It was not a mere coincidence," says Ratner, "that the vote in the U.N. occurred on the same day the State Department changed its position."

The subscribers—represented legally by such groups as the CCR, the ACLU, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the National Conference of Black Lawyers and the National Lawyers Guild—plan to file suit within the next few weeks unless the government reverses itself once again.

Where the files are

For the first time, the Federal Bureau of Investigation has agreed to restrict its surveillance of organizations and individuals engaged in lawful activities. The catch is that the new guidelines may only apply in Chicago, where the FBI recently settled its share of a longstanding "red squad" lawsuit ("In Short," May 13).

Three suits—later condensed to one—were filed six years ago by more than 60 individuals and private groups against the FBI, officials of the CIA and Army intelligence and the Chicago Police Department's "red squad," the cavalier bunch of law enforcers who got the goods on the *New York Review of Books* and other subversive elements.

—Josh Kornbluth



Defending a charter that excludes non-blacks, party organizer Manning Marable said that "we make no apologies for being a black political party."

Black party draws 1,000 to convention in Chicago

The August weekend ticked away on Chicago's south side, as black residents struggled to survive another day amid the broken glass and dreams of summer in the ghetto. A visitor might have had difficulty convincing these survivors of economic fallout that a renewal was occurring in their community. But nearby, at Wendell Phillips High School, some 1,000 people were reviving a faded ideal—black power.

The National Black Independent Political Party (NBIP) spent Aug. 20 to 23 forging an agenda that was "the culmination of years of black struggle," according to NBIP spokesperson Manning Marable. The assembly was riding high off last November's Philadelphia congress, when black activists from Muslims to Panthers convened to create "a progressive black agenda from the grassroots—for the 1980s." From that lofty goal, NBIP was born.

NBIP was sired by a fear of "the rise of Reagan and a new kind of white racism," Marable recalled.

The Chicago convention drew more than 1,000 participants, who represented 33 chapters in 27 states. The infant party claims 2,000 to 3,000 members nationwide, and party officials predicted that the success of the Chicago convention would attract thousands more.

The congress produced a party charter, elected national officers and appointed a 200-member central committee. The party's goals are to reinforce unity throughout black America and focus on improving social and economic conditions for black youth, students, women, prisoners and the elderly. The charter calls for strong community participation in such pro-

jects as cooperatives and labor organizing.

Though NBIP may eventually endorse candidates, "electoral politics will not be the primary organizing focus of this party," said Jemedari Kamora, an NBIP spokesperson. NBIP leaders do not plan to align themselves officially with other black political organizations like the Congressional Black Caucus.

The party charter also forbids non-blacks to join NBIP, and bars members of other political parties from running for office within NBIP. "We make no apologies about being a black political party," Marable said.

This last rule caused a rift during the convention. Left groups charged that the provision was designed to bar members of the Communist Party from NBIP activity. NBIP officials denied such motives. "You cannot serve two masters," argued one official. After hours of debate, the convention voted to leave the provision intact.

But the controversy exposed delegates' doubts over NBIP's future. Some resented the politically charged atmosphere that enveloped Wendell Phillips High. "This politickin' is just like white folk's politickin'." What's changed?" complained a delegate from Dayton, Ohio.

Others fretted over NBIP's lack of organization and clearly defined goals, while NBIP leaders such as Rev. Ben Chavis said they needed more time to organize, stressing that the party is a totally new venture that will grow from local chapters and committees built from the bottom up.

—Laura S. Washington

How to write off major disasters

From the ashes of the MGM Grand Hotel fire in Las Vegas last Nov. 21 was born an ingenious corporate finance strategy known as "retroactive insurance." Faced with damage claims far exceeding its \$30 million in coverage, MGM Grand bought, for about \$37 million, an extra \$170 million of insurance—fully one month after the night that 84 people died. Insurance broker Frank B. Hall and Co. orchestrated the deal through a large number of American and European underwriters and backdated the coverage to Nov. 1. Today MGM is far from financial disaster and recently staged a gala reopening.

The July 17 walkway collapse in Kansas City has left Hyatt Hotels perhaps even more in the financial lurch than MGM once was and a likely candidate for a similar retroactive insurance deal. Estimates of damage claims run as high as \$1 billion, yet the various defendants—owners, builders, architects—held only some \$300 million in liability coverage at the time of the catastrophe.

With the legal settlement of massive disaster claims likely to take several years, several insurance firms are actually finding it profitable to take on losses through backdating coverage—they simply invest the huge premiums and hope to pile up enough interest to outdistance their liability. The insurers also charge exorbitant rates for retroactive coverage: *Business Week* reports that premiums can cost as much as the potential liability.

Underinsured corporations faced with economic disaster have a clear interest in forking over such large sums of money. Liability claims paid through an insurer are tax deductible, whereas those paid directly out of the company pocket are not.

But is "retroactive insurance" really insurance at all? Critics say backdating plays fast and loose with the very concept of insurance as a hedge against potential liability. *Business Week* has one unidentified insurer admitting: "It is not traditional insurance—it's financial manipulation." Norman Wirtz, an insurance analyst for the state of Wisconsin, argues that companies should not be allowed to consider such an arrangement "insurance" for tax purposes, but points out that only a national agency such as the Internal Revenue Service or the Federal Trade Commission could clamp down on such transactions.

Allowing insurers to turn back the hands of time when writing policies has implications that worry consumer advocates and insurance analysts alike. Wirtz says that despite court costs and potentially inflated settlement costs, insurers have an incentive to drag out already near-interminable claims hearings, thus earning more interest income from invested premiums. The availability of retroactive insurance also means that corporations such as MGM and Hyatt will have no direct financial interest in safeguarding their buildings: Why pay for prevention when you can deduct the cost of the cure from your taxes?

—Brooks Egerton

IN THE NATION



Growing union support for Frank Barbaro means that for the first time in 20 years New York labor will have its own line on the voting machine.

NEW YORK

Barbaro may be a contender after all

By Paul A. Du Brul

NEW YORK

AS NEW YORK'S DEMOCRATIC mayoral primary dragged through the dog days of August, something totally unforeseen happened. Instead of remaining the coronation of incumbent Ed Koch that various media pundits and pollsters have been forecasting for at least a year, it has turned into an old-fashioned horse race.

Frank Barbaro, a left Democratic assemblyman from Bensonhurst in Brooklyn, was portrayed as a kamikaze in mid-

May when he challenged Koch, America's best-known big-city mayor and the subject of a recent *Time* cover story. When a coalition of prominent liberals began the search for someone to oppose Koch earlier this year, they were turned down by every elected official or potential "name" candidate they approached. Even Barbaro admitted to intimates that he had finally decided to run because "somebody has to do it." (Meanwhile, confident that his Democratic flank was secure, Koch opened a long-planned drive to secure the Republican nomination with the support of the Republican leaders in four of the city's five counties.) But no one, including Barbaro, had

gauged just how deeply Koch had alienated organized labor. Many labor leaders remained bitter at the mayor for his posturings on the Brooklyn Bridge during the subway strike, when he attempted to create a "London in the blitz" mentality among New Yorkers to force the Transit Authority to resist its workers' demands. Others resented the way that Koch had sabotaged Jimmy Carter by inviting Ronald Reagan to City Hall for a chat and unofficial endorsement in the closing days of the presidential race. He had given the same treatment to Democratic senate candidate Liz Holtzman, effectively endorsing her Republican opponent, Al D'Amato, who rapidly became the Senate's most outspoken foe of rent control. Even the conservative building trades, which weren't disturbed by the mayor's political peccadillos, resented Koch's generally anti-union conduct, specifically his rescinding of his predecessor's order that only union workers be used on city-financed construction.

Barbaro was in a good position to capitalize on this dissatisfaction. A trade-union activist who had worked his way through law school at night while hold-

ing down a back-breaking stevedore's job on the Brooklyn docks, he had risen to become chairman of the labor committee in the Democratic-controlled state assembly. He expected support from the traditionally left unions and, at worst, neutrality from others whom he had assisted in Albany.

What he got instead was a truly impressive outpouring of support from unions at all points on the political compass and a first-time-ever endorsement in a mayoral primary from the usually passive AFL-CIO Central Labor Council. Much more surprising, the unions have joined with a coalition of community groups for the first time to form the Unity Party, which is currently collecting signatures to guarantee Barbaro and other left candidates like City Council member Ruth Messinger a second line on the November ballot. (If Barbaro loses the Democratic primary, he will still be able to mount a major challenge to Koch from the new line.) This is the first time in 20 years that New York labor will have its own separate line on the voting machine.

Things are looking up.

Labor support adds real muscle to what had been a bare-bones campaign waged from a second floor walk-up where the bell didn't work. COPE, the AFL-CIO political arm, has provided a computerized list of 200,000 registered Democrats who are active union members. Several unions have turned over phone banks to be worked by volunteers. Others are printing tens of thousands of leaflets for streetcorner distribution.

Even with the massive infusion of labor help, Koch is outspending Barbaro 9-to-1 and is expected to increase that margin to 15-to-1 in the closing days of the campaign with a massive TV blitz. The Barbaro people will be happy if they can get their candidate on radio. They have already paid for a major poster campaign on the city's decaying subways and buses.

But the unexpected labor support is having another major effect on the campaign. The media blackout that plagued Barbaro through the first two-and-one-half months of his campaign is slowly lifting. And even though Ed Koch continues to dominate the six o'clock television news with his one-liners or carefully-orchestrated "photo opportunities" on the steps of City Hall, Barbaro's attacks on "giveaways" to landlords and developers and his calls for investing municipal pension funds in housing and economic development are finally being carried into voter's living rooms. The *Daily News*, still the city's largest circulation daily, has been particularly evenhanded in covering Barbaro's campaign, while the *Times* has given only token

Continued on page 8

Winter Festival Moscow Leningrad

Departure
December 27, 1981
Returning
January 5, 1982

"Join us on our
Troika Ride"

Call us or write to us
for our detailed
brochure.

Air Fare: \$734.00
Land Package: \$565.00

Departure from Washington
Dulles Airport

Travel to the USSR with Interplanner

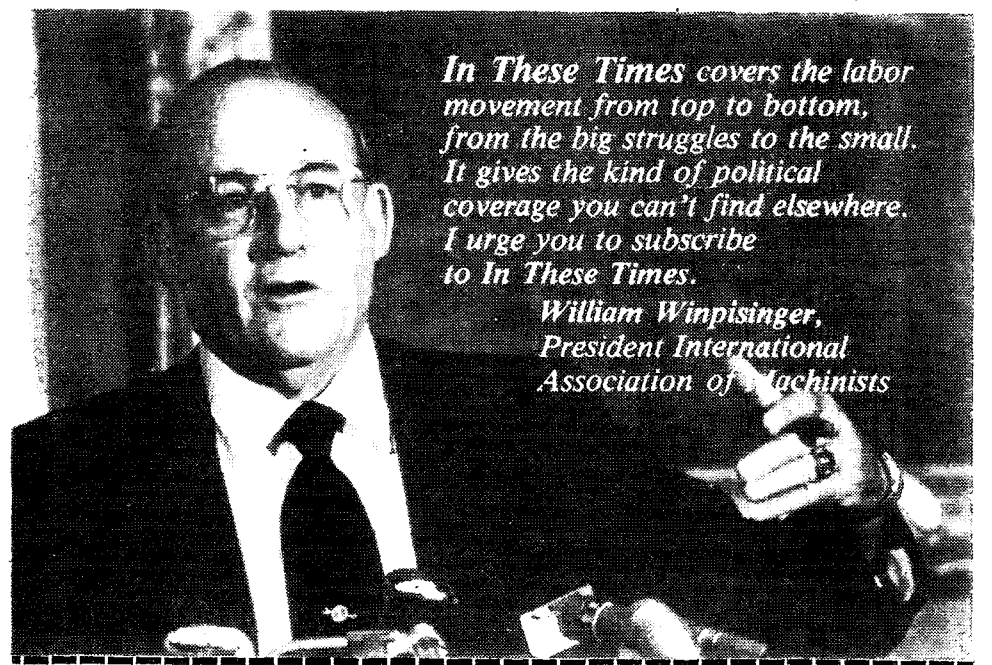
Interplanner
3120 N. 13th Street, Suite 5
Arlington, Virginia 22201
Telephone: (703) 522-4400
Telex: 64532 INTPLAN



Intourist



АЭРОФЛОТ
Soviet airlines



In These Times covers the labor movement from top to bottom, from the big struggles to the small. It gives the kind of political coverage you can't find elsewhere. I urge you to subscribe to In These Times.

*William Wimpisinger,
President International
Association of Machinists*

☐ YES, I want to try **IN THESE TIMES**, the alternative newsweekly! I don't even have to enclose payment now—you'll bill me later. **MY GUARANTEE:** If at any time I decide to cancel, you will refund my money on all unmailed copies, with no questions asked.

☐ Send me 6 months of **IN THESE TIMES** for only \$10.95.

☐ Send me one year of **IN THESE TIMES** for only \$19.50.

☐ Payment enclosed. ☐ Bill me later.
☐ Charge my: ☐ VISA ☐ Master Charge

Acct. No. _____

Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

City/State _____

Zip _____

IN THESE TIMES
1509 N. Milwaukee Ave.
Chicago, IL 60622

STW1

By Robert Howard

SAN JOSE, CA

WHEN HE FINALLY QUIT his job at Lockheed in 1969, Joel Yudken thought he was leaving the world of engineering for good. He could no longer reconcile his work on military satellites with his opposition to the Vietnam war. And the job as an electronics engineer that had promised to be a profession was really little more than a place on a "mental assembly line."

But 12 years later, Yudken is working with engineers once again—only this time to create alternatives to the mental assembly line. For a decade he had moved from antiwar activist to counter-culture dropout to leather craftsman selling his wares on the campus of Stanford University (where earlier he had studied for his engineering degree). Now Yudken is the Director of the Citizens Technology and Employment Program or CTEP, an

ed have remained the privileged concern of the electronics corporations, grouped in powerful and politically aggressive industry associations. In 1979 a group of citizen organizations headed by the Mid-Peninsular Conversion Project proposed that the Santa Clara County Board of Supervisors establish an "employment planning task force." With representatives from industry, labor and community groups, the task force would evaluate the impact on employment of technological change and new patterns

• The "community health technology project" has developed a plan for a low-cost computer information system for the disabled. A community-owned corporation would acquire the computer equipment and develop the software for the system, then lease data terminals to the disabled much as the telephone company leases telephones. As planned, the system would allow participants not only to receive information but also to "input" it as well. Joel Yudken calls it an "electronic bulletin board" for the

TECHNOLOGY

Engineers take the knowledge and run

and computer scientists involved in CTEP from Lockheed, Hewlett-Packard, Stanford University and the Stanford Research Institute have established an autonomous "technology and society committee" to bring some of the ideas and principles of the program to the engineering community.

Even more important, a growing number of Valley engineers are realizing that the problems they face on the job are really not all that different from those faced by ordinary workers. That at least was the message of the engineers who spoke at the first CTEP public forum in San Jose last March. They described a work experience where skills are seldom used, jobs are fragmented, and the technical expertise that has been the foundation of the engineers' privileged position is steadily being eroded by the very technology that they design.

"There is a deskilling of my job that is going on," said Dave Perasso, a "characterization engineer" who programs machines that test integrated circuits at Signetics, the major semiconductor manufacturer. "Two years ago, it took approximately two months to develop a test procedure. Now, microcomputers and the programs they run on are so powerful that it takes about a day. Anybody, including a manager who knows nothing whatsoever about electronics, can walk up to a system and, after a week's training, know how to program it to test most of the parts."

As a result, more and more engineers are facing what Lockheed's William Cutler called a crucial "mid-life choice." As work becomes more fragmented, they are forced into increasingly narrow areas of specialization. Then, as new developments in technology pass them by, instead of being retrained, they are simply shunted aside. "Most engineers are faced

Many mid-life engineers face an unsavory choice: stagnate or go into management.

with two possibilities," said Cutler. "One is to stagnate in engineering. The other is to make the jump into management. Neither is very satisfying."

Parameters for the rest of us.

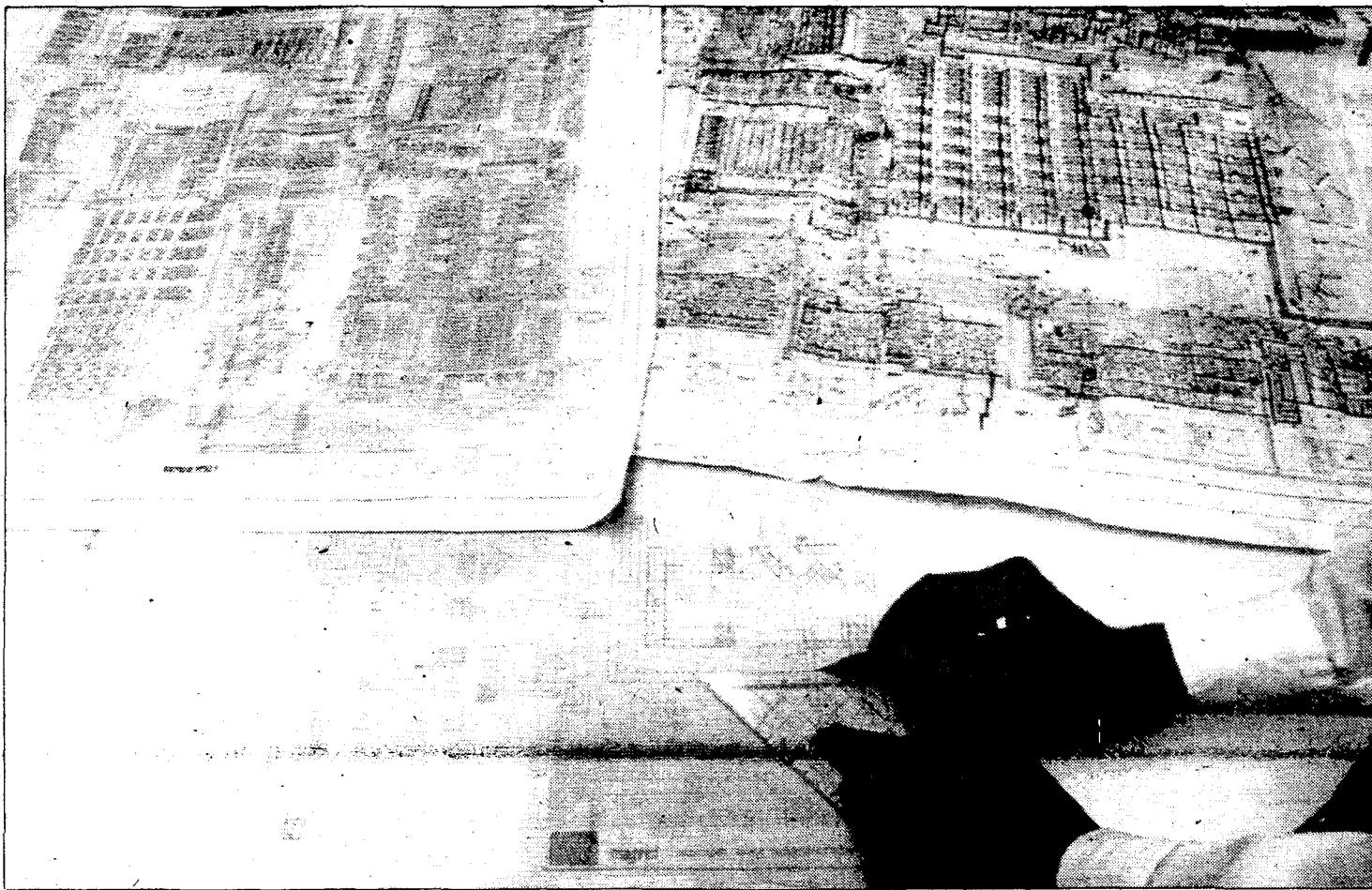
Long the instruments of the corporate control of technology, some engineers at least are beginning to see themselves as its victims as well. "The engineer is trained to take a set of parameters that somebody else gives him and design a product that fits that set of parameters," Dave Perasso explained at the San Jose public meeting in March. "But most engineers today are not happy with the parameters they're given. I have no control over the kind of integrated circuits my group produces—that's given to me by marketing. And in my company and most others in the Valley, marketing is more and more turning to the military."

The Citizens Technology and Employment Program is the first step toward fashioning a different way of putting technology—and technologists—to work. According to Joel Yudken, the ultimate goal is to create a network of "paratechnologists"—experts in breaking through the "mystique of technology for the layman" and translating the often abstract aspiration for "democratic control" of technology into "everyday terms of work, consumption and life-style that people can relate to."

It is the logical conclusion to the process that began, for Yudken, 12 years ago when he walked out at Lockheed. "I left engineering because I didn't want to work in a mental graveyard. Through CTEP, we're beginning to say that there are other kinds of work."

Robert Howard reports regularly for *In These Times* on workplace and health and safety issues.

For more information about CTEP write to the Mid-Peninsular Conversion Project, 867 Dana St., Suite 203, Mountain View, CA 94041.



innovative project for community control of new technology in California's Silicon Valley.

Birthplace of the silicon chip and Mecca of the world electronics industry, Silicon Valley has attracted the greatest concentration of engineering talent and technical expertise in the world. The technological virtuosity and rapid economic growth of the region's electronics industry have brought unparalleled prosperity for some—particularly major corporations like Lockheed, Hewlett-Packard, Intel or ROLM and the professional elite of engineers and computer scientists who conceive the new computer technology and make up about 25 percent of the electronics industry workforce.

But for many segments of the community the fruits of technology have been meager. Production workers who lack technical skills and have little access to them are trapped in low-wage, tedious, and often dangerous jobs—usually without benefit of union protection. And more and more members of Santa Clara County's large Hispanic community have no jobs at all as the mechanization of agriculture and automation of the region's canneries abolish traditional sources of minority employment.

Even those communities in the Valley that have enjoyed the benefits of economic growth are suffering from the unplanned urban development that it has brought in its wake. And while important needs for housing, health care and transportation go unmet, a major portion of the area's vast technological resources are devoted to military research and production. The Defense Department funnels nearly \$2.5 billion each year to the high-technology firms of Santa Clara County—more military dollars per capita than anywhere else in the country.

One reason the effects of technology in Silicon Valley have been so uneven is that the key decisions about how it is us-

in government spending. A majority of the board was interested—that is, until industry vehemently opposed the plan. Warning that a "politically appointed public group" might introduce "non-economic factors" into the corporate planning process, the Santa Clara County Manufacturing Group declared that technology was best left to individual firms. The board shelved the proposal without a vote.

This earlier political failure held the seeds for the Citizens Technology and Employment Program. The idea behind CTEP is to bring together in a working coalition two constituencies that have traditionally been excluded from decisions about technology and its uses—labor unions and local community groups—with the engineers and computer scientists who design and develop the technology but have little say about the ends toward which it is put.

With the help of a \$55,000 grant from the National Science Foundation's "Science for Citizens" program, CTEP has organized a series of four public forums in the Valley that began last March and will end in early 1982 on alternatives to the corporate domination of technology. At the same time, participants from the three CTEP constituencies are setting up demonstration projects to show that these alternatives can really work.

• A "jobs and energy project" in the predominantly Hispanic community of east San Jose is a joint effort of the Casa Raza community organization and the Building Trades Council of the Santa Clara County AFL-CIO. An apprenticeship training program will teach community residents how to perform energy audits of homes and businesses, retrofit structures for energy conservation and construct solar energy units. Eventually, a community- and labor-controlled business will do this work throughout the Valley and provide jobs for the unemployed in east San Jose.

disabled and those who serve them—hospitals, therapists, public agencies, and small businesses.

• Finally, the "new technology work impact project" would establish a consulting service for labor unions on the effects of new technology on work. A joint task force of unionists and technologists would monitor the introduction of new technology at firms in the region, estimate their implications for workers, and devise pro-union strategies for dealing with them.

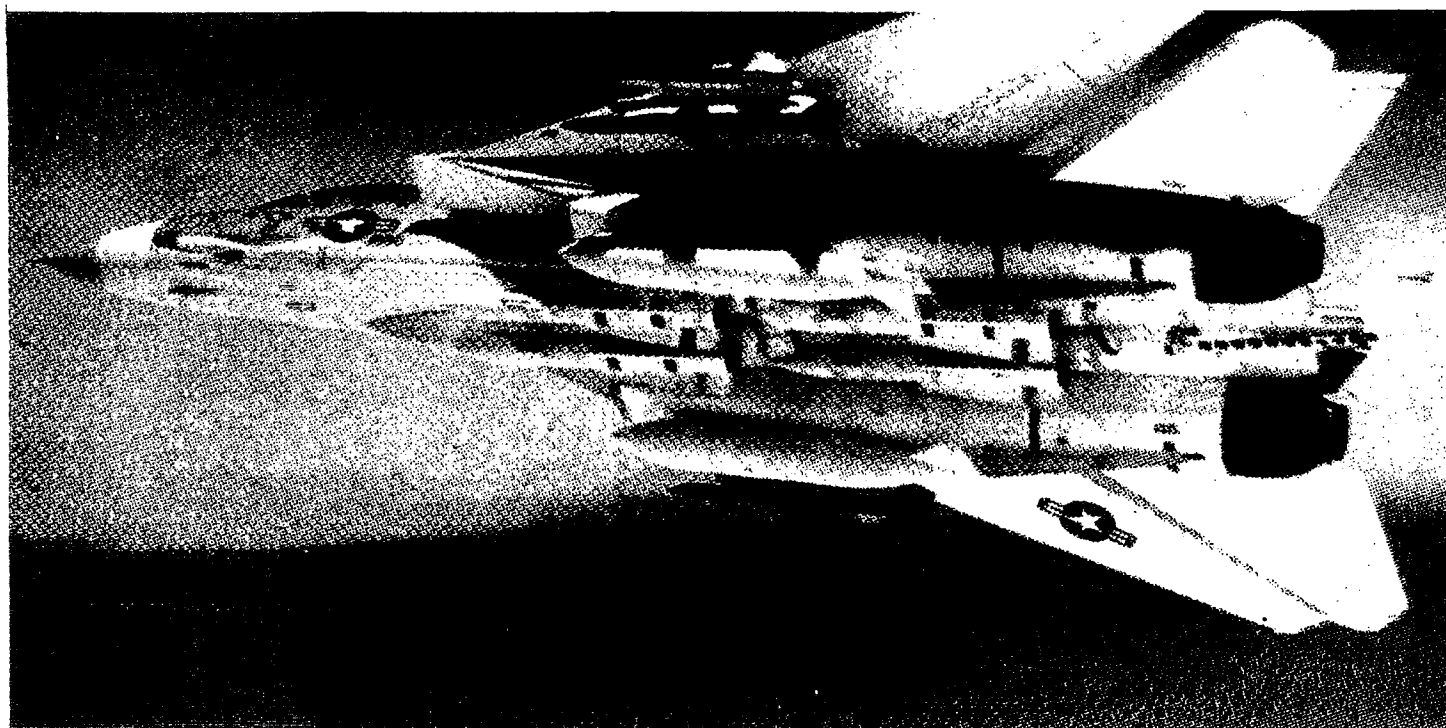
Currently, these projects are in various stages of planning and development. By the end of the year, CTEP hopes to have them well underway. The final goal of this first year of the program is to set up a permanent Center for Alternative Technology and Employment Planning. Modeled on similar institutions abroad such as the London-based Center for Alternative Industrial and Technical Systems (CAITS) and the Swedish Center for Working Life in Stockholm, the center would serve as an on-going technical resource for unions, community groups, community-owned businesses and municipalities.

"Mid-life" engineers.

If it hopes to influence the direction of technological development in Silicon Valley over the long term, the most challenging task for CTEP will be to involve a significant portion of the area's engineers. Engineering has traditionally been an isolated profession. In Silicon Valley, this isolation has been magnified by the considerable professional opportunities and high mobility of the electronics industry.

But Joel Yudken thinks that the isolation of the engineer may be breaking down. "Our theory is that there is a stratum out there—maybe 10 percent of the technical community—who are somewhat socially concerned and interested in citizens' technology." Already, engineers

INTHEWORLD



Even the Pentagon now admits that the Libyans would not have sent bombers to attack the U.S. F-14s (above) when more sophisticated interceptors were available.

LIBYA

Poor casting mars shoot-out in the Gulf of Sidra corral

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

IT WAS WASHINGTON'S WORD against Tripoli's, and everyone knows that Washington cannot tell a lie. Two Libyan aircraft, said Washington, launched an "unprovoked attack" on U.S. Navy F-14 jets off the Libyan coast on Aug. 19 and were promptly shot down. The U.S. planes were innocently involved in "routine exercises" in international air space over international waters when attacked by the treacherous Libyans.

On the other hand, Tripoli said the two Libyan aircraft were on a routine daily reconnaissance flight when they were attacked by eight U.S. fighters.

Among its other notorious eccentricities, the Libyan government headed by Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi has claimed the Gulf of Sirte (or Sidra) in the south central Mediterranean as its own internal waters. Rather than allow conclusion of the Law of the Sea Treaty that would have provided an international juridical solution to such questions, the Reagan administration chose to enforce its own conception of maritime rights by scheduling military maneuvers in the gulf.

In response to the shooting down of the Libyan jets, the official Libyan spokesman in London, Dr. Omar Sodani, observed that: "If the U.S. wishes to test the validity of its claims concerning Libyan territorial waters and airspace, we believe that the correct place is through the international courts rather than through a display of military might."

Eight days before the Gulf of Sirte incident, the Libyan representative at the United Nations formally called the attention of the Security Council to an "escalating campaign" by the U.S. Government against Libya meant "to pave the way for carrying out directly or through its agents in the region an aggressive action" against Libya. As signs of this threat to peace, the Libyan representative cited:

- The U.S. administration's offer of military aid to African countries that are allegedly threatened by Libya.

- The announcement of increased military aid to Libya's unfriendly neighbors, Egypt and Sudan.

- "The escalation of a U.S. information campaign against the Jamahiriya (Libya) and her revolutionary leadership in order to prepare American and world

public opinion to accept any aggression carried out by the United States or one of its agents in the region."

- Leakage of news reports of U.S. plans to commit aggression against Libya, such as a congressional report mentioning a CIA plan to liquidate Qaddafi.

- Stepped-up military activity in the region, such as Sixth Fleet movements off the Libyan coast, plans for a Rapid Deployment Force and joint American-Egyptian exercises near the Libyan border.

But the Libyan complaint to the Security Council attracted less world attention than a short item in the "Periscope" section of the current issue of *Newsweek* (dated Aug. 24 but on the newsstands a week earlier), which both predicted the Aug. 19 incident and illustrated one point of the Libyan complaint. Under the headline, "The U.S. Challenges Libya's Qaddafi," *Newsweek* announced that "After months of debating how to neutralize Muammar Qaddafi, the Reagan administration this week will offer its first direct challenge to the Libyan strongman. On instructions from President Reagan, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger has ordered the Sixth Fleet to conduct maneuvers off the Libyan coast in the Gulf of Sidra, which Qaddafi declares to be Libyan territory. The United States doesn't recognize Libya's claim and will test Qaddafi's reactions—and those of his allies in Moscow—by staging war games inside the gulf. To be sure that the world gets the message, the Navy has warned mariners and pilots in the region that 3,200 square miles of the gulf will be included in the exercise's firing range. U.S. pilots and sailors have orders not to fire at anything but practice targets—unless fired upon. Washington officials are also eager to see how Qaddafi will react to what they insist is a coincidence: Egyptian troops will conduct maneuvers along the Libyan border at the same time."

Premeditated mayhem.

A British *Guardian* editorialist who reads *Newsweek* noted that the Aug. 19 incident "was clearly prearranged" and added: "Legally the Americans may be right or wrong, but that is not the only question. It would not be the only question if the Soviet fleet chose to carry out maneuvers in the Gulf of Taranto; and if the Russians protested that they had issued the required 'Notice to Mariners' it would be assumed that they were talking tongue in cheek. However, the dollar rallied on the foreign exchanges upon

news of the event..."

Le Monde's Washington correspondent Dominique Dhombres reported that senior officials in the Reagan administration were privately gleeful at seeing Qaddafi brought down a peg. "One of them confided, half-joking and half-serious, that he was 'very sorry' Tripoli had sent only two planes, as 'the punishment would have been more exemplary' if larger forces had been involved."

Meanwhile, back at the ranch, Ronald Reagan snoozed peacefully. The world is being treated to a new kind of spectacle, international bullying, laconic cowboy style. We don't talk, ma'am, we shoot. Initially, it must be admitted that the act is working. *Le Monde* noted that most



Qaddafi is too much of a renegade to play the role of "Soviet surrogate."

foreign capitals had accepted the American version, and that "the reactions...can only encourage" the new strategists in Washington. A *Monde* editorialist was struck by the Reagan administration's style, its "phlegm" stemming from "a feeling of being in the right."

It seemed to go relatively unnoticed that Libya was also keeping remarkably cool in rather nerve-racking circumstances. There were no reprisals involving oil or Americans working in Libya. Sen. Strom Thurmond called the incident "a planned provocation," but who was trying to provoke whom into doing what? Were the Libyans trying to provoke the Americans into bombing Tripoli or providing air cover to the vastly more powerful Egyptian army threatening to invade Libya? Or were the Americans trying to freak out a leader they commonly portray

as a madman by sending the Sixth Fleet, guns blazing, into what he considers his national waters? Yet oddly enough, the day after the incident Pentagon officials conceded the two Libyan pilots were not under orders to attack the U.S. aircraft. The downed Libyan planes were Soviet-built SU-22s, designed primarily as bombers, and would scarcely have been sent on a mission to attack the much more advanced U.S. F-14 fighter planes, especially since the Libyans also possess more appropriate Soviet-built Mig and French-built Mirage interceptors, the Pentagon officials acknowledged.

An unlikely puppet.

The scenario for Pentagon-Hollywood productions first short subject (or is it a series?) needed a villain to set off the virtues of its sheriff hero, and Colonel Qaddafi seemed perfect for the role. A media campaign has built him into the "most dangerous man in the world," the godfather of international terrorism, so that when Our Hero strikes him down, it will look like virtuous little David going after big Goliath. Especially since Libya is described by administration spokesmen as a "Soviet surrogate." So when it whacks Libya, the U.S. is really boldly standing up to the Soviet Union.

As *Newsweek* reported in advance, the Pentagon wanted to "test Soviet reactions." If the Russians don't start firing missiles in all directions, the Pentagon macks can conclude that the Russians have "no balls" and the American cowboy can strut around pleased with himself.

But the boldness in the Gulf of Sirte was largely Hollywood illusion, like the studied "cool" reaction to something that was hardly a surprise. For all their talk about "surrogates" and "proxies," the Pentagon strategists know perfectly well that Colonel Qaddafi is an eccentric maverick. On his last trip to Moscow, despite his growing need for Soviet protection, Colonel Qaddafi couldn't restrain himself from publicly condemning the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and warning against intervention in Poland. Qaddafi and Moscow do not at all see eye to eye on the Middle East (Moscow supports the more moderate Palestinians and Israel's right to statehood), much less on the revolutionary role of Islam (Moscow has blocked contacts between the Libyans and the USSR's Moslem populations).

Most relevant of all to the Gulf of Sirte incident, Russians and Libyans do not agree about the Mediterranean Sea. Qaddafi has shown no willingness to provide naval bases for the Soviet fleet. Indeed, his position is that both American and Soviet warships should stay out of the Mediterranean.

Finally, the Russians are completely opposed to Libya's claims to the Gulf of Sirte. Such claims over coastal waters, if generalized, would practically landlock the USSR. As major naval powers, the Russians and the Americans are regularly together in opposing maritime claims by smaller countries that would impede their free movement. The Reagan's administration's leading strategic thinkers are keenly aware of potential super-power community of interest. Thus the signal to Moscow in the Gulf of Sirte incident, over the heads of the rest of the world, is highly ambiguous.

On a more practical level, after staking everything on the United States and Israel, Egyptian president Anwar Sadat needs something to show for it. The U.S. needs to reward such a faithful ally and strengthen him against his political adversaries. But Begin's intransigence leaves little hope of anything coming from the Israeli side. On the other side is Libya. In early August, Sadat and President Nimeiry of Sudan held lengthy talks in Alexandria, Egypt, to complete "concrete plans" of "defense" against "the double threat of the USSR in Africa and Libya on our borders." Libya, with a population of three million, is scarcely about to invade Egypt, with over 40 million. Buy Libyan adversaries of Colonel Qaddafi are in Cairo, apparently ready to be helped across the border in case something happens, like an uprising...

Is this the next scenario? Watch for Pentagon-Hollywood's forthcoming production.

ELF

Continued from page 3

structions in the case of a nuclear attack?

Since the mid-'60s, submarines have been central to American nuclear strategy. While they are unable to fire missiles as accurately as ground-based installations, because their location cannot be fixed as exactly they are less vulnerable to enemy attack. Arms control advocates have often waxed poetic on the prospect of moving the entire American missile force underwater, with a resulting reduction of cost and danger from counterforce attacks near civilian populations, as well as an absolute assurance of deterrence. But there has always been one large question about submarines: *Can the message get through in the event of an enemy attack?*

As it stands, there are only two ways a submerged submarine can receive messages. First, it can rise to within 10 to 15 meters of the surface and receive regular radio signals from shore or from airplanes. Or it can trail a small black buoy, connected by a cable to a submerged submarine. In both cases, the submarine risks detection.

There are two other alternatives being considered. One program, known as TA-

CAMO, would transmit low-frequency radio waves, capable of being received well below the surface, from airplanes. The airplanes would trail long antenna wires behind them. They might be susceptible to a pre-emptive strike.

The other alternative is the ELF program, which stands for extremely low frequency. According to a report by Eliot Marshall in a recent issue of *Science*, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger slated \$34.8 million for ELF in his current budget after it was omitted entirely by skeptical admirals.

The original ELF plan, broached in the mid-'70s, was to install an enormous antenna that would have covered 41 percent of Wisconsin's land. Wisconsin citizens were naturally a little concerned about the effect of these antenna lines on their property, and in 1977 the project was scrapped.

But the Navy tried to produce a smaller ELF that would take up only 5 percent as much space as the original one. Construction began, but was halted in January 1979 when no more funds were approved for the project. In slighting ELF for the current budget, the Navy evidently reasoned that the TACAMO system was more trustworthy, but Weinberger overruled them.

ELF's wave lengths are themselves thousands of miles long. This allows them to penetrate 100 meters below the

surface, but it also means, according to James Fallows in *National Defense*, that it will take up to five minutes to transmit a single word and at least 30 minutes to transmit a nuclear strike order. The estimated warning time before an enemy first strike is 10 to 12 minutes—time for about two words to get from the president to the submarines at sea. At best, the ELF system could be used to transmit a warning signal that would prompt the submarines to surface in order to receive further instructions.

In other words, the present state of shore-to-submarine communications technology severely limits American nuclear options. With communications doubtful, any thought of fighting a protracted nuclear conflict is absurd. Even as a simple deterrent, submarines may still need to be buttressed by land or air-based missiles.

Barbaro

Continued from page 5

coverage and Rupert Murdoch's *Post* gives Koch the same adulatory coverage it extended to the "bring back the electric chair" campaign that won him election in 1977. About the only way that Barbaro could get covered in the *Post*

would be to murder his wife and children in some imaginatively bizarre fashion.

In late July, before the bulk of the labor support became available, three unpublished polls (two for non-mayoral candidates, one for a local television station) had Barbaro hovering around 40 percent of the Democratic vote. Whether or not he can overtake Koch's lead before the Sept. 10 primary will depend on several imponderables, primarily whether minorities and union members, whose participation in primaries tends to be low, can be brought to the polls this time, and whether local contests will have an impact on the mayoralty vote.

Bringing out non-traditional primary voters is now the heart of the Barbaro strategy. Several unions hung back from supporting Barbaro initially because the membership had failed to come out to support union-endorsed candidates in other recent elections and, in the words of one UAW official, "We didn't want to get burned and expose our weakness to the right-wingers." Most of these hold-outs have now endorsed (except for AF-SCME District Council 37 and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union) and their credibility is on the line. They will work hard to retain it.

The same pattern holds true for minority politicians. Barbaro has been endorsed by the younger, more independent elected officials who have few ties with the powerful county machines that have endorsed Koch. Local battles for City Council and district leaderships in several black and Hispanic communities will bring out a heavier-than-usual vote, and that should mean a significant vote for Barbaro in these areas, where Koch is generally unpopular.

One bad turn...

By the same token, three major contests at the county level can also have a major influence on the primary outcome. In Brooklyn, the city's most populous borough, last year's Senate loser Liz Holtzman is running for district attorney against a lackluster prosecutor named Norman Rosen, who has never before run for public office. Rosen has the machine endorsement, but Holtzman is popular in the borough and is expected to win as the reform candidate. Holtzman is bitter about Koch's "stab in the back" in the Senate race and is expected to trade endorsements with Barbaro.

In the Bronx, a borough where the largest ethnic group is Puerto Ricans and where fully 70 percent of the population is minority, these groups have been denied effective political power by the entrenched machine. This year, Ismael Betancourt, a Puerto Rican businessman, is running for borough president against Stanley Simon, the machine incumbent. Betancourt and Barbaro are supporting each other.

In Manhattan, City Clerk David Dinkins, a black, is opposing Andrew Stein, the incumbent borough president. While Stein is expected to win easily, Dinkins' candidacy will bring out a larger-than-usual black and Hispanic vote. Neither candidate has endorsed Barbaro.

Several tenant associations, including the citywide Metropolitan Council on Housing, have also endorsed Barbaro. This is a first-time foray into electoral politics for many of these groups, who have been angered and frightened by Koch's consistent support for rent increases and his openly pro-landlord rhetoric. This will be a real test of New York's tenant movement, which has been on the defensive for several years.

Whatever the outcome of the Democratic primary, Ed Koch will be the inevitable Republican candidate in November. Frank Barbaro will be on the ballot as well, since the Unity Party needs only 7,500 signatures. Traditionally, the Democratic primary is the critical election for municipal officeholders in New York City. This year, with the traditional forces in disarray and a major realignment in the making, it will only be the warm-up for what promises to be a very exciting main event.

Paul A. Du Brul is a frequent contributor to the *Village Voice* and co-author with Jack Newfield of *The Permanent Government: Who Rules New York?*, soon to be released as a paperback by Pilgrim Press.

WRITERS IN AMERICA FACE A CRISIS.

Rapidly advancing concentration in the communications industry threatens as never before to exclude and silence serious writers who are out of political or literary fashion. Government support for the arts is being slashed. Attacks on writers — libel suits, book-bannings, censorship — are increasing across the country. If you agree that these threats demand an active response, join The Nation Institute and thousands of other writers at THE AMERICAN WRITERS CONGRESS — ROOSEVELT HOTEL, NEW YORK — OCTOBER 9-12, 1981.

WHAT WILL THE CONGRESS BE?

A massive gathering of writers of all descriptions: poets, playwrights, novelists, journalists, scholars, critics, and the associations, guilds, and unions that represent them.

WHAT IS THE GOAL OF THE CONGRESS?

To help American writers deal individually and collectively with bread-

and-butter problems, as well as the long-range political and economic trends that threaten the vitality of our written culture.

WHY A "CONGRESS," NOT MERELY A "CONFERENCE?"

Because at a conference people talk; at a congress, people act.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN AT THE CONGRESS?

Panels — Workshops — Caucuses — Hearings — Festivities — A plenary session to consider formal resolutions and ways to continue the work of the Congress.

WHAT ISSUES WILL THE CONGRESS ADDRESS?

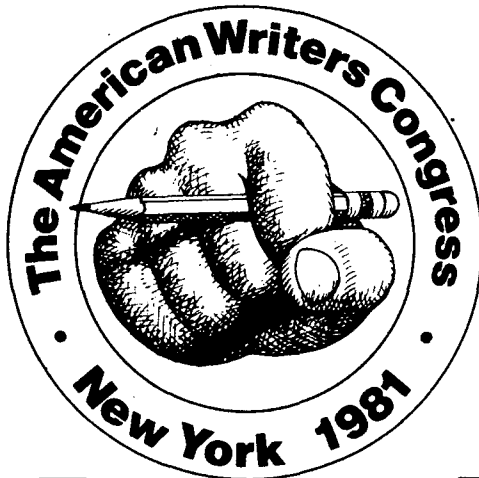
Government funding cutbacks — Assaults on First Amendment rights — Interests of writers and publishers: where they converge, where they conflict — Cooperative publishing and distribution methods — Who gets published/produced, who doesn't — More, more, more.

WHO WILL COME?

More than 2,000 writers from across the United States. Publishers, editors, other industry representatives, and foreign writers will also be invited.

THE INVITING COMMITTEE (in formation)

E. L. Doctorow • Doug Ireland • Frances FitzGerald • Kurt Vonnegut • James Merrill • Ed Bullins • Nat Hentoff • John Hersey • Alice Walker • J. Anthony Lukas • John A. Williams • Ishmael Reed • Ring Lardner • Barbara Grizzuti Harrison • Fred Cook • Morris Dickstein • Blair Clark • Studs Terkel • Calvin Trillin • Roger Wilkins • Nancy Milford • Lois Gould • Ellen Willis • Jessica Mitford • Jane Kramer • Evan Connell • Mary Lee Settle • Staige Blackford • Michael Arlen • Donald Barthelme • Penny Lernoux • Alastair Reid • Norman Mailer • Alden Whitman • N. Scott Momaday • Barbara Garson • David Halberstam • Ron Gadosh • Alan Wolfe • Alta • Paul Cowan • Katha Pollitt • Lore Dickstein • Jack Newfield • Albert Innaurato • Nora Sayre • Lucinda Franks • Cynthia Arson • A. W. Singham • Steve Schlessinger • Jane Lazarre • Dan Wakefield • Justin Kaplan • Ann Bernays • R. D. Rosen • Diane McWhorter • Jane Holtz Kay • Ellen Capitarow • Robert Lekachman • Galen Williams • Carol Muske • Ben Sonnenberg • Douglas Day • Robert K. Massie • Marcus Raskin • Frank Snapp • Patricia Bosworth • Leslie Epstein • Peter Stone • Arthur Kopit • Les Brown • Gerald Stern • Herbert Mitgang • Herbert Gutman • Israel Horowitz • Michael Meltzer • Vivian Gornick • David Burnham • Maxine Kumin • Gregory Rabassa • Betty Friedan • Robert Caro • June Jordan • Maria Irene Fornes • Toni Morrison • Peter Schrag • Barton Bernstein • Jeremy Larner • John Oliver Killens • Marge Piercy • Anthony Astrachan • Al Young • Jamake Highwater • Robert Hass • B. K. Moran • Richard Lingeman • Gloria Emerson • Richard Pollak • Marshall Berman • Paul Gaston • Gay Talese • Paul Krassner • R. W. B. Lewis • Kai Erickson • Denise Levertov • Alix Kates Shulman • Barbara Seaman • Gail Sheehy • William Styron • Francine duPlessix Gray • Leon Litwack • Martin Sherwin • Rob Swigart • Lucy Rosenthal • Erica Jong • Robin Morgan • Victor Perera • Grace Paley • Toni Cade Bambara • Wilfrid Sheed • Mordecai Richler • Aryeh Neier • Wallace Stegner • Blanche Wiesen Cook • Thomas B. Morgan • Richard Foreman • James Welch • Rita Mae Brown • Richard Goldstein



A call to the American Writers Congress

The American Writers Congress is sponsored by The Nation Institute, a non-profit organization associated with The Nation Magazine.

We urge you to respond soon because reserved admission is limited.

For more information, call or write:
The American Writers Congress
G.P.O. Box 1215
New York, N.Y. 10116
212/420-0608

☐ YES, I want to register at the writer's rate of \$25 per person (non-writers: \$100 per person) for The American Writers Congress, to be held at The Roosevelt Hotel, October 9-12, 1981. I am reserving _____ places now. (Non-reserved admission: \$50 for writers; \$150 for non-writers.)

☐ I am enclosing an additional \$_____ to help offset the cost of The Congress. Contributions are tax-deductible within legal limits. Total amount enclosed \$_____.

Please make checks or money orders payable to The American Writers Congress. Send to: The American Writers Congress, G.P.O. Box 1215, New York, N.Y. 10116.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

For information call: 212/420-0608

☐ Please send me room rate information for The Roosevelt Hotel.

LATIN AMERICA

The private sector in El Salvador is getting restless

By David Helvarg

SAN SALVADOR

THE U.S. EMBASSY HERE HAS recently invested \$1 million to beef up its security. A 10-foot-high cement wall now surrounds the embassy grounds. Black-helmeted Salvadoran National Guardsmen stand watch at gunposts along the wall and on surrounding streets. The embassy's dark, mylar, bullet-proof windows are now reinforced with sandbags, and four sandbagged bunkers have been built on the rooftop. U.S. Marines in camouflage utilities with M-16 rifles and radios occupy this high ground and use it to stay in constant communication with armored gun-cars with code names like Tiburon and Shark, which constantly cruise the area.

In the field, the American-trained AT-ACATL army battalion is quickly making a name for itself using U.S. helicopter-assault tactics in sweeps through the northern mountains of Chalatenango and Morazan. On the weekend of July 18, several hundred members of this 2,000-man unit were said to have entered Honduran territory near the refugee camp at La Virtud, Honduras, landing in a shuttle of seven Huey helicopters and then sweeping back across the demilitarized zone into El Salvador in an attempt to catch guerrillas of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) in a pincer movement.

On my recent return to El Salvador, I accompanied the Green Cross (a service organization similar to, but more active here than, the Red Cross) to the abandoned refugee camp at La Burmuda some 40 miles north of San Salvador in the department of Cuscatlan. In early July the army had moved some 1,000 refugees out of this rural camp and burned it to the ground. The majority of the people were relocated in an old penitentiary in the army-controlled town of Suchitoto.

The Green Cross was collecting wood from the abandoned site to use at their other refugee camps. Scrawny cats and pariah dogs were the only remaining residents. But while we were there an armored column from the ATACATL battalion arrived on the scene. They were patrolling the area with four French Panhard tanks (equipped with 90mm cannons), two French armored cars and a truck, and were accompanied by infantry patrols armed with new American M-16 rifles, M-60 machine guns and M-79 grenade launchers. We went along with them back out to the paved road that heads north from the capital. Here they discovered two home-made mines planted in the undergrowth alongside the road. While a member of the National Guard disarmed the green pan-shaped charges, the major in charge of the patrol admitted to me that mines and ambushes have taken a serious toll on his men in recent weeks.

The guerrilla forces of the FMLN seem to be consolidating their hold in the rugged northern tier of the country while the security forces and the death squads continue to control the populous, agricultural south.

When we arrived at the refugee camp in the jail at Suchitoto, some 650 people were crowded into the cell blocks. William, a Green Cross paramedic who asked that his last name not be used, told of intestinal disorders and bronchial infections at this center. Refugee camps in Honduras are reporting outbreaks of malaria, typhoid fever and hepatitis. No one is really sure, but the latest estimates put the total number of refugees any-

where from 100,000 to 300,000.

Meanwhile, the byzantine power struggles and coup rumors continue to swirl around the central government. Ten months ago the power struggle was between hardliners and reform elements in the military. The hardliners won, ousting Colonel Majano, the leader of the reformers, from the junta. Today the struggle is between the Christian Democrats, led by President Jose Napoleon Duarte, and the private sector interests, represented by the *Alianza Productiva*—the landed oligarchs and industrialists who want to reclaim management of the economy from the military technicians and the politicians of the Christian Democratic Party.

"It's too bad, because the Christian Democrats are exactly on our wavelength," says a U.S. embassy official. "On the other hand, the private sector might win back the confidence of international lenders and investors." The American hope is that "moderate elements of the three democratic sectors"—the military, the Christian Democrats and private enterprise—will give up coup-making for the moment and join in "free elections" scheduled for March of 1982. But with the guerrillas and moderate-left parties of the Democratic Revolutionary Front planning to boycott, there appears to be little enthusiasm for the martial-law elections.

An economic tailspin.

While the fighting and power struggles continue, El Salvador's economy has gone into a tailspin with no short-term hope of recovery, according to various economic observers on the scene here. While the country's continuing guerrilla war and a general regional slowdown are the main factors named by U.S. economists in explaining the decline, many members of the private sector in El Salvador blame the economic reform policies and actions of the ruling junta, which have exacerbated tensions between the private sector and President Duarte.

Since 1978, the last year of peace, El Salvador's gross domestic product (the total amount of goods and services pro-

Capital flight, a growing problem, totaled more than \$300 million in just the last year.

duced) has declined some 25 percent. Agro-export crops such as coffee, cotton and sugar, the nation's traditional source of capital earnings, are in bad shape because of lowered world prices and disruptions caused by the war. New investment is at a virtual standstill and many foreign-owned assembly plants and businesses that set up here in the late '60s and early '70s have either shut down or drastically cut back on production because of political violence.

Specific costs of the violence include disruption of transport (more than a dozen major bridges have been destroyed), disruption of electric supplies (more than 100 electrical towers have been bombed) and the destruction of crops (the army often sets fire to food crops in areas controlled by the guerrillas, while fields of cotton and other export crops have been burned by the rebels). The government has also been forced to divert



A Salvadoran National Guardsman patrols the streets outside the U.S. embassy.

more than \$120 million from its budget this year for defense and security.

A worsening balance of trade is another source of worry. Total Salvadoran exports for 1981 are now projected at \$900 million, while the bill for required imports such as fertilizer, insecticide and medicine will climb to more than \$1.1 billion. The government looks to maintain the balance of payments through increased U.S. aid. The U.S. has already committed more than \$144 million to the economy in fiscal year 1981, three times what it is providing in military loans and grants. But everyone agrees that turning El Salvador into an aid-dependent economy such as occurred with South Vietnam in the '60s is no solution to the problem.

Meanwhile, many of El Salvador's richest families have taken their money out of the country, reinvesting in American real estate and other more stable holdings. Capital flight has totaled more than \$700 million since 1978, more than \$300 million in the last year alone.

Rumblings in the business sector.

Those elements of the private sector that have not fled blame the government for declining productivity, which they trace to the junta's land reform program and the nationalization of banking and export.

"We do not want to reverse the agrarian reform," says Juan Vicente Maldonado, the executive director of the National Association of Private Enterprise. "We want private-sector participation to make these reforms workable, efficient and productive. We think compensation promised to the former owners should be paid as soon as possible. We propose the re-privatization of banking, with shares of the banks sold to the private sector. We think the junta should allow the private sector to come into the government with its own ideology of a free-market economy."

President Duarte, who in 1976 authored a book entitled *Communitarianism*, a dense volume of speeches and lectures that advocated a "participatory mixed economy," has become the focus of much of the private sector's anger and frustration.

"Communitarianism is nothing but Marxism-Leninism. Duarte would be with the left if they promised to make him their leader," says Francisco Ferri, one of the organizers of a three-day meeting of the private sector that was held at the Sheraton Hotel in late July. "It's true that the Christian Democrats are advocating many of the same programs as the communists," agreed a top executive of one of El Salvador's daily papers, who asked not to be identified.

In response, President Duarte has accused businessmen of plotting to overthrow him. "The greatest threat to the government is from conservative businessmen, not from the revolutionary forces of the left," Duarte recently told an interviewer.

"We aren't interested in any coups d'etats," says Maldonado. "We are only interested in participating in the reconstruction of the economy." At the same time, Maldonado is highly critical of the elections scheduled for next year, claiming that "the electoral process is being manipulated by the Christian Democratic Party."

"It's really a shame that the moderate elements among the military, the Christian Democrats and the private sector have not been able to reach some kind of an understanding," says a U.S. economist on the scene. "If the government and the private sector don't get together soon, the whole thing could collapse."

With the economy an admitted basket case and the military conflict intensifying, the best the central government can hope for is increased military and economic aid from the U.S. and a possible loan from the International Monetary Fund. The U.S. is making it clear that whatever the junta needs will be forthcoming, while at the same time Washington speaks of a new spirit of confidence afoot in the land. The new spirit I've found among the people in the government-controlled areas of the countryside looks very much like the old spirit of unspoken fear of continued violence and massacre. Things change but remain the same.

David Helvarg is on assignment for *In These Times* in Central America.

PERSPECTIVES

Support for PATCO must come from the bottom

By Suzanne Gordon

IT HAS BEEN FIVE WEEKS NOW since the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) started its nationwide strike. While rank-and-file members and local officers of other unions have acted to support the controllers, the national leadership of organized labor has not taken strong, united action on PATCO's behalf. Nor has the left shown much concern for the union's fate. This is because of PATCO's supposedly unreasonable wage demands, its endorsement of Ronald Reagan last year, and its failure, in the past, to display much solidarity with other airline industry unions or support for left causes.

In the face of the Reagan administration's union-busting attack on PATCO, these excuses for inaction now seem paltry. The issue is no longer PATCO—it's the future of the whole labor movement.

Reagan's response to PATCO's strike is sending a message to every public and private sector employer in the country that they should stand fast in bargaining and bust unions, if necessary, to achieve their goals. It is a message that will in-

hibit labor's efforts to organize the unorganized and will accelerate the trend toward union acceptance of wage cuts and other contract "give backs" in many basic industries.

We can't wait for national leaders to act. Nor should we wait for PATCO

leaders to contact us. The controllers are all too often inexperienced. They have had little previous contact with other labor and community groups. Local unions and citizens' organizations around the country must initiate strike support activity themselves.

In Massachusetts, for example, local union officers and staff from 16 different unions have sent a letter soliciting funds, picketing help and resolutions of support for PATCO to every local in the state affiliated with the AFL-CIO.

An ongoing PATCO labor support group is being formed following a rally in Boston on Aug. 22 that attracted more than 1,000 PATCO strikers, their families and supporters from other unions and groups like Massachusetts Fair Share.

PATCO supporters are writing newspaper articles and letters to the editor and are appearing on radio talk shows to

explain the issues involved in the strike to air travelers and other members of the public. Local unions are inviting PATCO members to speak at general membership meetings to increase the size of plant gate and office collections and to help raise funds for PATCO's two Boston area locals.

A grassroots campaign like this is needed in every city in the country. Such a campaign could help change public opinion about the PATCO strike and give material aid to the strikers. Equally important, it can demonstrate to labor's national leadership that the rank and file isn't going to wait until Sept. 19 (Solidarity Day) to start displaying the kind of support needed in this country if labor is to survive the next three years under Ronald Reagan.

Suzanne Gordon is an editor of *Working Papers*.



Striking air traffic controllers and families picketing Chicago's O'Hare field.

The one-party state is breaking down in Poland

By Herbert Semmel

THE EMPEROR'S NEW Clothes is playing daily in Poland. When Soviet President Brezhnev met Polish First Secretary Kania and Prime Minister Jaruzelski Aug. 15, they issued a statement reaffirming the adherence of Poland to Marxism-Leninism, which translates into one-party rule by the Communist Party. At the same time, Lech Walesa, the leader of Solidarity, publicly disclaimed any desire of Solidarity to governmental power, saying, "Let the government govern the country, but we will govern ourselves in the factories."

The outward form of government re-

mains the same, but in fact Poland is no longer a "one-party" state. It is governed by a de facto coalition of the Communist Party and the "social forces" that are led by Solidarity and include the Catholic Church and Rural Solidarity. It is the first Communist nation in which the monopoly on power of the Communist Party has been altered.

The Communist Party in Poland decided to govern by consensus and to compromise on numerous social and economic issues because of the Party's almost total loss of public confidence, as shown by its own public opinion poll in June 1981. The poll showed that the public placed its highest confidence in the Catholic Church and in Solidarity. The Communist Party ranked lowest. This result was universally accepted. It was

acknowledged by leading Party officials and by the report of the outgoing Central Committee. As a result, a new social contract had to be developed or the government had to resort to violence, which would certainly be met with massive opposition—probably a general strike—and which would eventually provoke Soviet intervention.

In order to govern and to institute the widespread and painful changes needed to stabilize and improve the shattered economy, the Polish Communist Party and its government must obtain the cooperation of Solidarity, whose members include more than 75 percent of the working class, of the Polish farmers and of the Catholic Church. Solidarity has demanded a high price for the cooperation it will offer the government in stabilizing the country and rebuilding the economy—nothing short of a sharing of decision-making power on domestic issues. The government has informally accepted the terms. At present, most major decisions are negotiated between the government and study commissions of the "social forces" in which Solidarity usually plays the leading role. When the government tries to move without prior agreement, the result is strikes and demonstrations that bring the government to the bargaining table.

Solidarity is also insisting that the price of cooperation must be structural change to institutionalize the shift of political power and prevent a reversion to a slightly modified version of the '70s. Agreement has been reached on a new trade union law, including the right to strike. Agreement in principle also exists on decentralization of the economy, although difficult questions of implementation remain. But economic decentralization could mean only a shift in authority from the centralized planners to a local managerial elite, many of whom are already part of the privileged upper strata of Polish society. This justified fear has led to widespread discussion of a true system of worker control and self-management of enterprises. From the standpoint of the working class, worker self-management offers the best assur-

ance against a return to authoritarian and bureaucratic control.

Worker self-management is an explosive issue. It threatens the privileges and authority of a large body of managerial personnel who are, at the same time, mainstays of the system and advocates of reform. The managerial group looks to a decentralized economy for increasing their authority and satisfying their professional desires for more personal creativity and independence, but both are undercut by worker self-management.

There will undoubtedly be areas in which agreement will not be reached without considerable struggle, including strikes, demonstrations and threats of Soviet intervention. But a complete breakdown of the current working arrangement between Solidarity and the government now seems unlikely. Lech Walesa's current theme, repeatedly voiced by him, of a time for consolidation, stability and hard work, supports such a conclusion.

If the Soviets continue their grudging tolerance of the Polish experiment, and if the Western powers refrain from using Poland as a pawn in the renewed cold war, the Poles may succeed in putting together a combination of economic and political democracy. New forms of democratic participation have evolved in Poland from the difficult special circumstances of the development of socialism in the Soviet zone of influence. Without democracy, the Polish people will not put forth the effort and sacrifices necessary to rehabilitate the deformed limping economy. If the effort is not made and the economy sinks further, the newborn democracy will likely fall as well. As a Polish farmer put it so well at the Party Congress, "there can be no democracy without food and no food without democracy."

©Copyright 1981 Herbert Semmel
Herbert Semmel teaches at Antioch School of Law and formerly was director of the Center for Law and Social Policy and a labor attorney. He recently returned from a month in Poland studying Solidarity.

CubaTimes

the quarterly magazine of the Cuba Resource Center, Inc., a source of reliable information on Cuba for more than a decade.

- Interpretive features on U.S.-Cuban relations, the Cuban community in the United States, Cuba and the Third World, daily life in Cuba, problems and achievements of the Revolution.
- Regular columns include the arts, travel, book reviews, economic notes, sports and more.

CUBATIMES presents analytical articles by Cuban and U.S. authors well-known in their fields; eyewitness accounts from journalists in both countries.

One year subscription:

individuals — \$8.00 (\$15.00 for two years)
institutions — \$16.00 (\$30.00 for two years)

Write: CRC, Inc.

11 John Street, Room 506
New York City 10038

SCHOOLING

See Dick and Jane read, see if they understand

This is the first of a series of articles by Norm Fruchter on public schools in the United States. After filing the second part of his report on New York schools, Fruchter will travel to Los Angeles, Atlanta and Chicago to report on public education in those cities.

By Norm Fruchter

TWO EVENTS DOMINATED public education in New York City this spring and summer: the results of the citywide reading test, which indicated that the reading achievement of New York's students equalled the national average; and School Chancellor Frank Macchiarola's new promotional "Gates" policy, which denies promotion to 4th and 7th graders whose reading levels are significantly below grade.

After falling for more than a decade, New York's reading scores started to rise three years ago, at the onset of Macchiarola's appointment. But the 10 percent increase achieved during the past two years has startled everyone. Both Mayor Koch (who uses the results as a spur to his re-election campaign) and Albert Shanker (president of both the local and national Teachers' union) have saluted the results as a turnaround in the city's schooling.

The test scores say that half of New York's public school children in the 2nd through 9th grades are reading on or above grade level. But the test scores can't tell us the relationship between statistical gain and real improvement in the ability to read. There is widespread doubt about the meaning of the increase in test scores; many critics have challenged the validity of the scores themselves. Emphasis on test results during the past few years has encouraged various forms of teaching to the test, test-readiness drills and a variety of test-preparation exercises used throughout the system. These practices undoubtedly increase scores. The implementation of the city-wide test by the Board of Education is also under attack. Wayne Barrett, in a June 17 *Village Voice* article, demonstrated that significant numbers of children have been excluded from the testing pool. He charged that a flawed test distribution system allows considerable access to the tests both before and after testing. Barrett argues that high school testing shows no comparable increase, although this year's 10th grades contain most of last year's 9th graders who achieved significant gains on last year's tests. (Because high schools are centrally administered, high school students are tested separately from the elementary and intermediate school pupils in New York City's 32 community school districts.)

It seems evident that once Chancellor Macchiarola made a determined decision to improve test scores, the scores would improve. There has been an increased emphasis on reading and math, with a gain in "time on task" as well as in achievement levels, accompanied by an insistent rhetoric that "all children can learn." This emphasis on basic skills improvement, coupled with an increasing emphasis on the school, rather than the child, as the focus of improvement, is welcome relief from the emphasis on "background factors" (race and class) that schoolpeople have used throughout the past two decades to explain school failure. But whether these new emphases and the resulting score improvement mean permanent gains in the ability to read is unclear.

Evidence from several national studies indicates that increased reading scores may not reflect improved ability to understand what is read. Students who

master discrete vocabulary, syntax and grammar operations have increasing difficulty synthesizing overall meaning. If these trends continue, the emphasis on basic skills may have to include more stress on comprehension as well as mastery of segmented reading components. The kinds of standardized tests we currently administer may then seem increasingly irrelevant.

Passing the qualified.

The Chancellor's new promotional "Gates" policy is designed to force improvement in reading skills (and eventually math skills), by halting the policy of social promotion—automatically advancing children, in spite of skill deficiencies, to keep them with their age-



mates. In the Chancellor's version of minimum competency standards, the 4th and 7th grades are cut-off points, or "gates," and students scoring more than a year below level in 4th grade, and more than a year and a half below level in 7th grade, are automatically denied promotion. These students are offered six weeks summer remedial instruction, with specially trained teachers, followed by a second chance at the test. Students who fail a second time, as well as those students choosing not to attend the summer session, will be assigned to repeat the 4th and 7th grade in remedial classes with a projected level of 20 students per class. The Board of Education has appropriated additional funds for both the summer remedial program and the smaller remedial classes for the coming academic year.

Approximately 25,000 children have been held back—about 11,000 4th graders and 14,000 7th graders. About half these students have enrolled in the summer program. Unlike so many Board of Education policies that allow a large degree of flexibility to community districts, the Gates program mandates stiff standards. Exceptions to denial of promotion can only be made by a district superintendent, after an appeal from the local principal.

Like the emphasis on test score results, the Gates program focuses dramatically on the need for skills improvement. The issue is whether real reading improvement will result. Critics question whether the remediation can repair the damage already inflicted by the system's previously inadequate preparation. What kinds of remedial programs can transcend the stigma of failure that most children denied promotion will undoubtedly face?

Will funds be sufficient to provide a range of truly effective programs? Will remedial funds be diverted from other grades and other necessary support efforts? What teachers will teach these new remedial classes and what kind of training will they receive? What happens to handicapped students and to those not fluent in English?

According to a recent issue of *Advocate*, the newsletter of Advocates for Children (AFC), a citywide educational student advocacy and support organization, the Chancellor's staff is sensitive to these questions and is implementing the Gates with a priority on effective remedial programs. But as AFC maintains, effective teaching and remediation programs in the earlier grades would greatly reduce the need for such a punitive program in the 4th and 7th grades.

To explore the effects of the rise in test scores and the Gates program, I spoke with administrators, parent activists and community board members in my own area, District 15 in south Brooklyn. Our public school population of about 19,000 elementary and intermediate school students is about 65 percent Hispanic, 20 percent white and 15 percent black. Though neighborhoods range from high-

tracted a 60 percent enrollment rather than the 50 percent the Board projected. Yet Glassman sees the Gates as ill-conceived. "What I don't like is that the measurement device is a group paper-and-pencil test that was not devised for this purpose." Standard error of measurement was not considered. "The grade, to me, is terrible. If we want to help kids, we should help them in the first grade."

Like many administrators throughout the system, Glassman prefers the Chancellor's first innovative program, transitional classes for first graders with skills problems. As Judy Hoffman, a member of District 15's Community School Board elected by an insurgent coalition, points out: "At various times in our history we've come up with good answers and good programs and then we've dropped them along the way. The transitional classes, which identified children with significant reading difficulties early on, met one of our strongest needs. Now that program has not been dropped entirely but the funding has been cut back."

Chancellor Macchiarola seems in danger of developing a traditional style of educational leadership that constantly

promotes new programs while abandoning older ones. Had the Chancellor consistently funded and implemented his transitional classes for first graders with skills difficulties, there would be far less need for the more drastic Gates program. Who can blame those administrators, teachers and parents who wonder how long the Gates program will last?

Meanwhile the system's basic problems fester. The 50 percent of the almost one million public school children who are reading below grade level are often very far behind. Though the test scores indicate improvement for many poorly-achieving schools in minority and poor areas, class and race still seem to be the major determinants of reading achievement throughout the city. Though many individual school results indicate that the linkage between "background factors" and poor achievement can be broken, most schools are not breaking that linkage. Haydee Ruocco, president of the President's Council of District 15's PTA, sees educational achievement as a result of parental class power. "In this district, as in any social situation, the majority who get what they want or what they expect are more verbal and more articulate than individuals who might have greater need but are not as verbal. We do not have the representation we need for the majority of children in this district."

Test mania.

Dr. Jerold Glassman, our newly appointed Community Superintendent, defines the low reading levels as one of the district's main problems, and is somewhat troubled by the celebration of test score increases. "We are teaching to the test. We spend more and more time giving exercises of types of examples on the test. The same test has been used too often and in some cases, as in the second grade, the same form of the same test has been used. But as a rough indication, I think that the tests show that many of the efforts taken in the city are beginning to pay off. There is more concern with reading improvement than ever before."

Glassman thinks the Chancellor's Gates program will work in District 15. He has implemented the summer program on a wider scale than the Central Board recommended, spreading his 11 allocated remedial teachers across eight school sites, rather than two, to maximize the program's outreach. He's at-

promotes new programs while abandoning older ones. Had the Chancellor consistently funded and implemented his transitional classes for first graders with skills difficulties, there would be far less need for the more drastic Gates program. Who can blame those administrators, teachers and parents who wonder how long the Gates program will last?

Meanwhile the system's basic problems fester. The 50 percent of the almost one million public school children who are reading below grade level are often very far behind. Though the test scores indicate improvement for many poorly-achieving schools in minority and poor areas, class and race still seem to be the major determinants of reading achievement throughout the city. Though many individual school results indicate that the linkage between "background factors" and poor achievement can be broken, most schools are not breaking that linkage. Haydee Ruocco, president of the President's Council of District 15's PTA, sees educational achievement as a result of parental class power. "In this district, as in any social situation, the majority who get what they want or what they expect are more verbal and more articulate than individuals who might have greater need but are not as verbal. We do not have the representation we need for the majority of children in this district."

A subsequent article will examine three District 15 elementary schools that are meeting the needs of almost all their students.

Norm Fruchter is Director of the Public Policy Program at St. Peter's College in Jersey City, N.J., on leave this year at Teachers College, Columbia University

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

MOVIES

The joys of an imperfect film

By Pat Aufderheide

In 1969 a Cuban filmmaker, Julio Garcia Espinosa, concerned with a professionalizing trend in Cuban cinema, wrote a controversial essay, "For an Imperfect Cinema."

With the growth of mass culture, he argued, there were more spectators for art than ever before in history. "The question now," he wrote, "is whether those spectators are going to become authors."

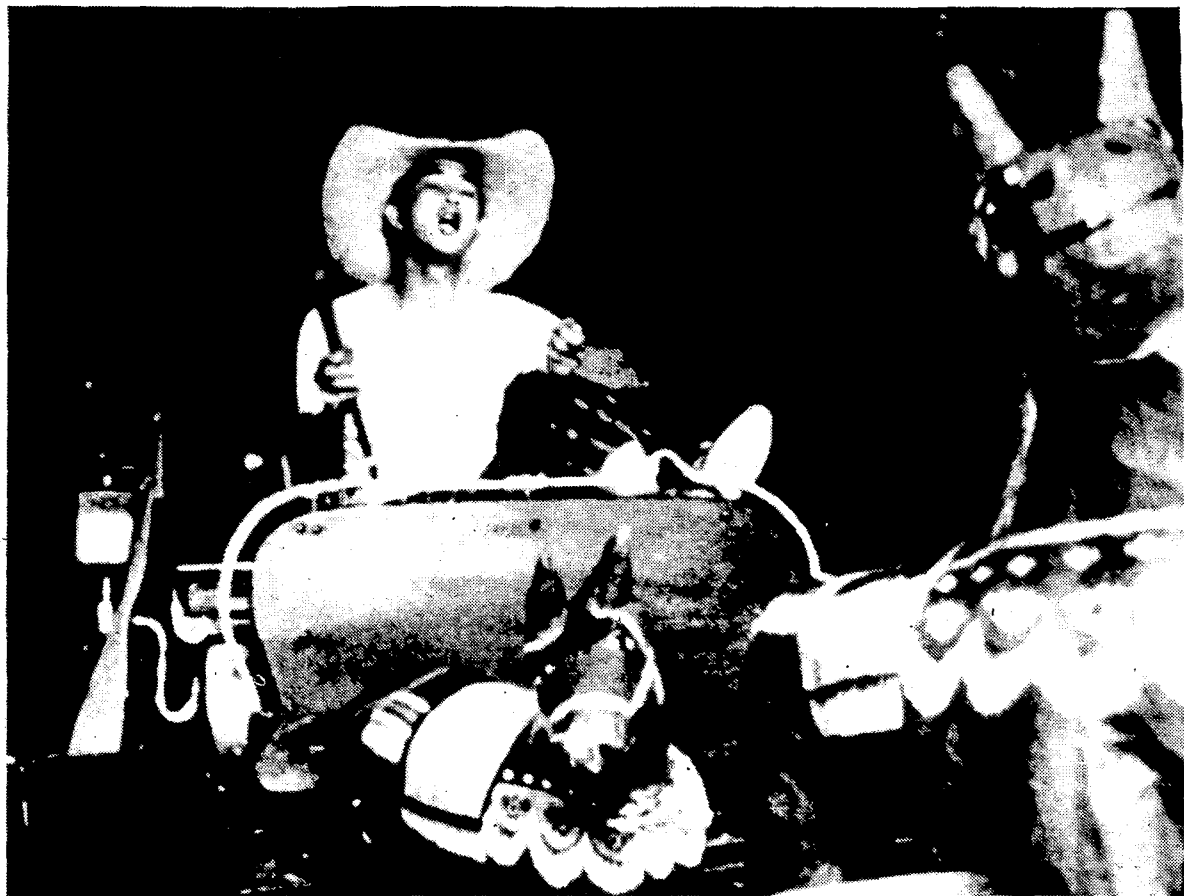
Technical excellence or even "good taste" could not be of primary concern. "An imperfect cinema must above all show the processes that create the problems," he argued. "It should be the opposite of a cinema that celebrates the result, a self-sufficient and contemplative cinema."

Since then, the vision of a challenging, creative "imperfect cinema" has remained mostly

that (even in Cuba). Most technically incompetent films are intellectually incompetent as well, and most avant-garde work supports Andrew Sarris' complaint that he's been watching the same avant-garde work for 30 years.

But a roughly-made, funny, incisive film called *The Perfumed Nightmare* (distributed by Zoetrope) is, all by itself, reason to take heart. It's proof that Garcia Espinosa wasn't just dreaming. Filipino filmmaker (and star) Kidlat Tahimik has produced a filmic essay on underdevelopment that delights, makes you think and communicates the filmmaker's own passage to an understanding of the issues he raises.

The opening moments establish the intent, subject matter and the wry personal style that governs this message from a peripheral inhabitant of the First World's cultural empire. Tahimik drags a toy truck across the bridge, built by Spanish colonialists, to his village. He says



Tahimik determinedly journeys toward progress, but is appalled when he gets there.

he's four years old. Then he drags a kiddie car across it, and finally, now a grown-up, he tugs a real hauler across. He is determined, he says, to cross bridges to freedom.

Tahimik develops his exemplary tale of progress and freedom with an eye for the absurd that *Saturday Night Live* writers could lust after. A "jeepney" driver (jeepneys are rebuilt

U.S. government jeeps), the hero-author divides his time between his three worlds. There's the pleasant universe of Mom, bamboo and ancient customs; a Catholic world of saints, priests

Two kooks on the Big Bench

By Pat Aufderheide

First Monday in October (Paramount) has its pleasures. There is the accident of timeliness—this is a film about the first woman appointed to the Supreme Court. (The film comes from a 1975 stage play; still the probabilities of deaths and therefore appointments to the Big Bench are in the public domain, and the film was rushed to a finish.) There is also its topicality—it boldly constructs situations around real issues. Finally there is an abundance of snappy repartee. (The writers, Jerome Lawrence and Robert E. Lee, are stage veterans with such credits together as *Inherit the Wind* and *Auntie Mame*; they may be old enough to remember snappy repartee.)

Amid an impressive collection of stage-trained talent Jill Clayburgh and Walter Matthau create credible, interesting characters—she more than he. He's a mountain-climbing, cardigan-sweatered William O. Douglass liberal and she's a tennis-playing, Phyllis Schlaflyish anti-filth crusader (the "Mother Superior of Orange County," according to him), appointed to fill a crusty

conservative's place.

When she supports a ban on a pornographic film he hollers First Amendment. ("Crap has the right to be crap!" he says. "Cut the legal language, Dan," says the Chief Justice.) When he demands that the Court uphold a stockholders' investigation of a multinational's suppression of a fuel-saving car engine, she charges him with using the law to attack "great corporations" ("large," he corrects) that preserve the nation's economic health. Under stress, he finally suffers a heart attack. So does she, in the form of a *crise de conscience*. By movie's end they've agreed to keep on fighting, because, as she says, "we make each other possible."

To the extent that this odd couple works, it's because Clayburgh's role was written as a real person. Sure, there are woman-in-the-sanctum jokes, but they're not cheap. She gets to be the weary but unbowed feminist at a Senate committee hearing—"A woman can ovulate and think at the same time," she tells a questioner. She also gets to be feminine, hastily trying to hide the traces of her plant repotting at the office. And she faces down her erstwhile egalitarian counter-



Jill Clayburgh as the conservative feminist squares off with Walter Matthau as the macho liberal.

part nicely when he insists on calling her "Madame Justess."

It all goes down easy and draws quick laughs without a single pratfall or car crash. In fact it's pretty testimony to tight

writing—because without the dazzle in the dialog, you might let a large hole in the film's logic get to you.

Loveable kooks.

The notion that propels the action is that conservative and liberals are the two extremes of the American political and ideological spectrum. These two justices are irrational when it comes to their pet causes. So she has pornography? Well, he has multinationals. They both twist the law around their moral convictions. They are loveable cranks, ideological versions of the wacky inventor and the stubborn pioneer and the do-it-yourself New Englander.

But once we knock out the

two of them—or rather, let them do it to each other—what's left? Those other seven judges don't seem to have opinions, just attitudes and line-of-least-resistance tactics. But isn't the Supreme Court's job the defense of basic constitutional principles? If so, just what are the principles that stand safely within the holy cathedral of justice being held up by the "flying buttresses," as the liberal justice puts it, of conservative suppression and liberal muckraking?

The film depends on the ghost of a Hepburn-Tracy fractious-couple charm to glide over the ambiguities. Legal principles are not only not specified—we are trusted to know the First Amendment and the law on restraint of trade—but actions appropriate to one level of justice are slapped onto another. At one point the justices consider the legality of an earlier court procedure, at another they're digging up new information to reopen a case.

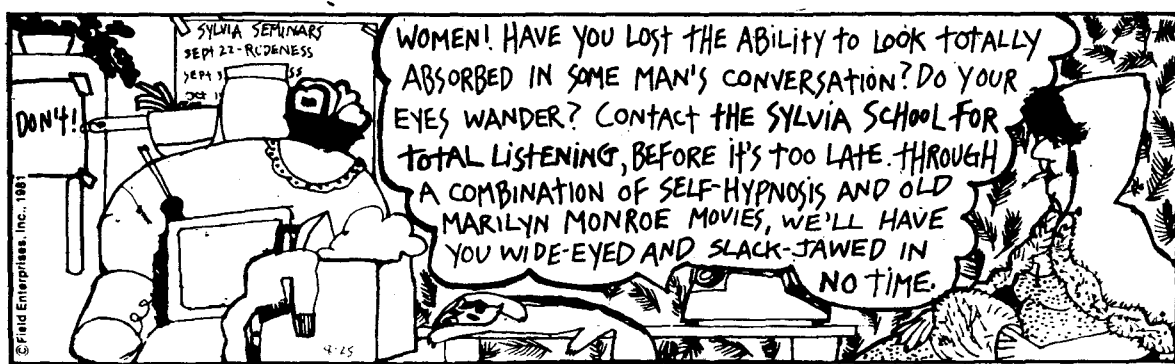
Further, personal ethics are confounded with the law, by scriptwriters as much as characters. "It may not be right but it's legal" isn't a cliché for nothing, however. The values established by the business world just won't shake down into the same value system as personal morality. If they could, you wouldn't need the law.

That's the problem behind the legal wrangles of this ideological Mutt and Jeff, but you'd never know it from the cut of their arguments.

One is driven glumly to the conclusion that this movie is made not only for adults but for a particular kind—fuzzy-minded liberals. "Liberals" because it maintains the obligation to open debate, and "fuzzy-minded" because it muddles those issues so thoroughly we could argue them till doomsday and still not happen on a way out of our differences.

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander



and festivals; and the media world of America worship, brought to him by Miss Universe and the Voice of America.

There in his end-of-the-world village he's a one-man booster society for progress and the founder of the Werner von Braun fan club. Rescued from obscurity by an American who takes him and his jeepney to Paris, he works at feeding the chewing gum machines the American owns there. He is befriended by a farmers' market egg vendor who is threatened by a supermarket in construction.

Only having arrived at the other side of the rainbow in first-world modernity does he ask what the point of progress is. Why have big supermarkets and small markets do the job? Why

PERFUMED NIGHTMARE was made on \$10,000 and persistence.

have the Concorde when small planes get people where they're going? He discovers, further, that progress is destroying his ancient world of bamboo—but instead of getting a European fortress like the one his American has in Paris, his family only gets an order to move their fragile house to make way for freeways.

He takes an ineluctable step. In his "will and declaration of independence" he resigns his leadership and membership in the Werner von Braun fan club. But he doesn't give up.

Pageantry and tableaux.

The Perfumed Nightmare validates (and reveals the rarity of) Zoetrope's distribution aims—to disseminate personal films that use the medium creatively. In fact one of the side effects of watching this ingenious film with all its flaws is that it makes you angry at your normal world of readymade movies.

It also reminds you of Coppola's taste for pageantry and tableaux in filmmaking. *Napoleon*, *Our Little Girl*, *Kagemusha* and this film, despite their breathtaking intellectual and ideological diversity, share a use of the medium to stage self-conscious tableaux rather than to produce the fiction of transparent narration.

Working on an amazing \$10,000 budget (and with no filmmaking experience whatever), Kidlat Tahimik produced a garden of symbolic delights. The mechanisms that make his points are bold, flip, ludicrous. For instance he pastes Miss Universe into his bedside icon, right next to the Virgin Mary. His Werner von Braun fan club is composed of sales boys for the local popsicle industry. An entire carton of two-yolk eggs tips him off, in Paris, that Lola the egg vendor has more to offer than the supermarket does, and when he shows us her days are numbered he redoes the sidewalk signs for her to read "Three Seasons," then "Two" and "One" in a newfangled countdown. When the chewing gum magnet lures the Catholic-raised filmmaker with promises of a trip to America on the Concorde he says, "Tomorrow you shall be with me in Paradise."

The filmmaker also creates tickingly funny bits of hyper-real-life. He gives us a newscast, for instance, including a report

of a long-awaited funeral of an anonymous, perhaps generic, 80-year-old generalissimo (maybe got from the same place the general in *The Autumn of the Patriarch* came from). A summit meeting is held under a coconut tree, and the American delegate slogs through the swamp in his Teddy Roosevelt gear only to boycott it when he can't be in charge. Henry Kissinger arrives to bless the super-market opening that shuts down Lola the egg vendor.

What gives his references zing is that, like the phantasmagoric images of Gabriel Garcia Marquez, they are drawn from the crude ironies of real life. There is the visual poetry of the jeepneys, "vehicles of war made into vehicles of life," and the contrast between jerry-rigged jeepney factories and Western assembly lines. In Tahimik's found footage are Filipino government displays of power in military parades, youth marches and beauty pageants that need no exaggeration to make their law-and-order point. Similarly with the contrast between his home town village's stone bridge and the 21st century escalators at Orly.

If Tahimik is as expert at recycling found film objects as he is with automobiles, he is also efficient in expressing himself with them. In a typical editing joke he sits in a castle window, comparing its sturdiness with his own family's fragile bamboo huts—then blows himself out of the window. Anxiety and confusion are registered with a vibrating frame.

Learning by doing.

None of this is subtle, but it is, thank God, unpretentious. And punchy-funny, like his recognition of Western-style freedom: "Liberte, egalite, fraternite, supermarket!"

His ending, composed in equal parts of whimsicality and stubbornness, is no more a political or social answer to the problems he addresses than the film's argument is a narrowly political one. Rather it's one artist's rendering of a personal journey toward understanding of—yes—contradictions. This is the kind of third-world film to grind a dogmatist's teeth for him.

"I'm not as little as you think," he grins at the end, just before credits in which "mega-superstars"—national figures that show up on found footage—are graciously listed as well as a host of friends and relatives. Tahimik convinces you of that, just as he convinces you with the cheap magic of movies of the felt cultural inferiority in underdeveloped countries.

It is, then, exciting to realize that the making of the film was, for Kidlat Tahimik ("quiet lightning," the name Eric de Guia has assumed), a coming to awareness of the painful questions of progress and power. The 39-year-old filmmaker began the film in 1975 and created it on the editing table, learning as he went along not only technique but the ironies of his love affair with the West.

"Seeing myself on the editing table screen—forward, backwards—a thousand times, a hundred thousand times—I began to understand the nature of my perfumed nightmare," he says.

We understand, too, but we need the film for a different reason. The effect of such a direct, friendly, personal communication on us is that we enter, irresistibly, into dialog on a subject that is usually conducted for us in board rooms and bankers' summits.

NOTEBOOK

WOMEN'S ALTER EGOS-RIXI
HUAHUAM RIXI



The Yanomami Indian Park: A Call for Action
Anthropology Resource Center
59 Temple Place, #444,
Boston, MA 02111
25 pp., \$7.25

The Amazon basin, site of Brazil's starriest development dreams, is not empty. It's filled with thousands of obstacles to miners, agribusinessmen and government investors: the Indians. Among them are some 15,000 Yanomami, who are sitting on top of mineral-rich lands. After 12 years of pressure from Indians, anthropologists and missionaries, the Brazilian government in 1979 considered zoning some forest land for Yanomami use only. But new mineral strikes, a rightward shift in Brazil's military government and desperate economic straits have eroded hope. This report by anthropologists and missionaries uses the Yanomami case as example of the threat of extinction facing Amazon people and cultures. It includes historical and current information on the imperiled Yanomami nation submitted to the Fourth Bertrand Russell Tribunal in 1980, a presentation to the Organization of American States in December 1980, statements of international support, suggestions for action and publicity work and contacts for more information. The report offers little information from Yanomami themselves, but compelling photos and—even better—fascinating line drawings by Yanomami give an urgent, earthy reality to the Indian way of life, thus skirting the hopeless-victim-of-progress imagery that bedevils this subject. PA

YAWERE THE SLOTH SMILING



Office Hazards: How Your Job Can Make You Sick

By Joel Makower
Tilden Press, 1737 DeSales St.,
NW, Washington, DC 20036
223 pp., \$6.95

If it's true that the '80s will be for clerical workers what the '30s were for industrial workers, then the organizers will want this handbook, the first of its kind written for a general audience. The president of Working Women, Karen Nussbaum, wrote the forward to this practical guide to office hazards, from a barely perceptible fluorescent light flicker to chemicals emitted by insula-

tion material and photocopiers to stale, chemical-laden air recycled through ventilation systems fit for warehouses. The book devotes a chapter to VDTs (video display terminals). There are valuable appendices on office worker groups, office health and safety organizations, a complete office health and safety questionnaire and information on how to file complaints and government agencies to contact. The book is peppered with resource suggestions and success stories: the grass-roots COSH (Committee on Occupational Safety and Health) that showed Illinois can company workers how to file a complaint against poor ventilation (it was fixed within a week), the expansion of worker "right to know" (to know about hazardous environmental substances), laws passed in city and state governments and the landmark 1980 Supreme Court decision on the right to refuse unsafe work. DZ

Architects of an Unfinished American Dream

By Ernest Calloway, Ed. by
Marcus Albrecht
4161 Cleveland, St. Louis, MO
63110, 78 pp., \$3.95 plus .50
postage and handling

In 1933 a young black miner named Ernest Calloway wrote an article for an Urban League magazine on the problems of black miners in the eastern Kentucky coal fields. The article won him a scholarship to Brookwood Labor College in New York, where he met A.J. Muste, Norman Thomas, Earl Browder and Jay Lovestone. He organized unemployed workers in West Virginia, helped build the red caps union in Chicago, refused induction into the army to protest its Jim Crow conditions and was a CIO News Staff writer. Calloway attended Oxford for a year on a British trade union scholarship, returned home as a CIO organizer in the South and finally settled in St. Louis in 1950 at the invitation of fellow socialist Harold Gibbons of Teamster Local 688. Local 688 was a model local union, democratic on paper and in practice. The membership was politically active and socially concerned, pioneering pre-paid medical services, fighting for desegregation in schools prior to 1954 and organizing the unemployed.

This is a series of essays first published from 1973 to 1976 in the *Missouri Teamster*, the official voice of 50,000 member Teamster Joint Council 13. They deal with 15 personalities Calloway believed "made invaluable contributions to... what can be called the 'American Dream' in the best sense of the term." The group, ranging from Roger Williams and Frances Wright to Debs and King, includes two women and

two blacks. Nine of the 15 saw the inside of jails or were threatened with such for their views. That these essays and their author exist in the Teamster Union contradicts the popular myth of the Teamster monolith. More importantly, however, Calloway has provided us with "proper model(s) for young American minds."

DR

The Fair Women: The Story of the Woman's Building, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago 1893

By Jeanne Madeline Weimann
Academy Chicago, 360 N. Michigan Ave., 611 pp., \$14.95
Weimann's book can be approached on several levels. For historians, especially Chicago-philis, it offers a detailed account of the Woman's Building at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, with numerous photographs and documents to make the personalities and conflicts come alive. For art lovers, book collectors and browsers, *The Fair Women* provides a wealth of anecdotal information, especially about individuals—some known (the formidable socialite Mrs. Potter Palmer and the unaccounted Susan B. Anthony), others wonderful discoveries (the two early explorers May French Shel-



don and Kate Marsden).

For feminists the work produces valuable insight on women's status, circa 1892, a crucial period in women's history. Already at work were conflicting contingents—those who wished to work within the system (mostly fair-minded wives of wealthy merchants) and those who wished to found a new society (predominately professional women). Debates ignited over how to exhibit artistic works by women, who should sit on juries, how to represent minority interests, volunteerism and equal pay for equal work. Interestingly, sides were not always predictable. Of special interest is the chapter on the little-known group of early feminists called the Isabellias. Also relevant is the history of such projects as the Women's Dormitory, established to provide cheap housing for single female visitors; the Children's Building, which provided a day care center; the Library, which sought to collect and catalog all works by women; and the Inventions Room, which displayed, among other marvels, Josephine Cochran's dishwashing machine, also in use in many Fair restaurants.

Although the work is overly long and could have profited from a good editing job, the material remains fascinating, even at 600 pages. Although a \$14.95 paperback is a little steep for some buyers, the work is highly recommended.

PE

Contributors: Pat Aufderheide, Patricia Erens, Dave Rathke, Debbie Zucker.

TELEVISION

Recording the culture of hospital workers



Ruby Dee

By Susan Cowell

Marc Levin has described his documentary *Bread and Roses* (WNET-TV, Sept. 12) as "a portrait of an idea" that "culture in the broader sense is part of struggles." *Bread and Roses'* subject is the Bread and Roses cultural project of District 1199, a New York-based union of hospital and health care workers. The project has turned 1199's union headquarters on 43rd Street in Manhattan into a cultural center, hosting art exhibits, plays, films and concerts. It has taken lunch-time entertainment into the hospitals and nursing homes where most of the 70,000 members—70 percent of whom are black or Hispanic and 85 percent of whom are women—work. Levin's documentary focuses on these forays into the workplace. The performances he filmed include dramatic readings by Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee from black writers; Sam Levenson's gentle humor about aging, shared with geriatric patients and staff; and selections from *Take Care*, a musical revue about hospital workers written through a collaborative effort of professional songwriters and 1199 members.

Moe Foner, executive secretary of 1199 and originator of

the project, sees 1199 as a catalyst; he hopes that other unions will follow the example. Bread and Roses' most recent project, its *Images of Labor* art exhibit, is aimed at broad labor support. 1199 commissioned 32 artists to do works on labor themes; the resulting exhibit will tour the country after its opening in 1199's New York gallery and the publishing of a book (Pilgrim Press).

The exhibit, now at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.—in a location where it is estimated 200,000 people will see it—is an example of the ability the Bread and Roses project has to generate more and complementary media projects. The exhibit is accompanied by a film series and three concerts of labor songs. In different locations—for instance Morgantown, W.Va., and Cincinnati—labor and community organizations will put together their own complementary programs to accompany the exhibit.

Important audience.

Marc Levin approached WNET-TV in New York more than a year ago. WNET expressed interest, but their ideas were often at odds with Levin's vision of the project. They suggested, for example, staging *Take Care*—the musical review created to tour health care institutions—in WNET's studio as, in Levin's words, a *Chorus Line* of the labor movement." Levin insisted that "the audience is as important as the performers." He filmed live performances, focusing on the workers, not only as audience, but also as workers, union members and residents of New York communities—for example, in their successful fight to save one of New York's endangered inner-city hospitals.

There is no narration; the workers speak for themselves, both in response to the filmmaker's questions and in discussions at union meetings and at the session held to gather material for *Take Care*.

Levin was field producer and editor for *The Detroit Model*, a Bill Moyers' show about the auto industry (PBS, April 3, 1980) based on the all-too-novel premise that those who work on the line might have some ideas about the problems of American industry.

In *Bread and Roses*, a young worker says the Bread and Roses program "puts our union in a different light. People have the idea that everyone who belongs to a union is stupid." The public image of unions has suf-

fered from class prejudice, especially in the media. Countering that prejudice head on and giving workers the means to regain their self-respect can be a union's most powerful organizing tool.

Levin makes his points with well-chosen juxtaposition. In one scene, Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee perform a humorous dialogue by Langston Hughes between a practical black lady and a rather pompous preacher of Negro uplift. The lady tells the preacher, "I'm a great one for

raised pride; it's just that I don't need it much in my line of work." The audience—mostly black women—laughs with sharp recognition. In the following segment, Doris Turner, now an officer of 1199, talks about her first years in health care work in the late '50s when she spent two years "trying to figure out what made it so difficult to gain some status—just enough to be able to go to the bathroom without asking permission."

Such scenes underline the frustrations of workers in this still largely unorganized field. But the sharing of these frustrations is a first step in fighting back. ■

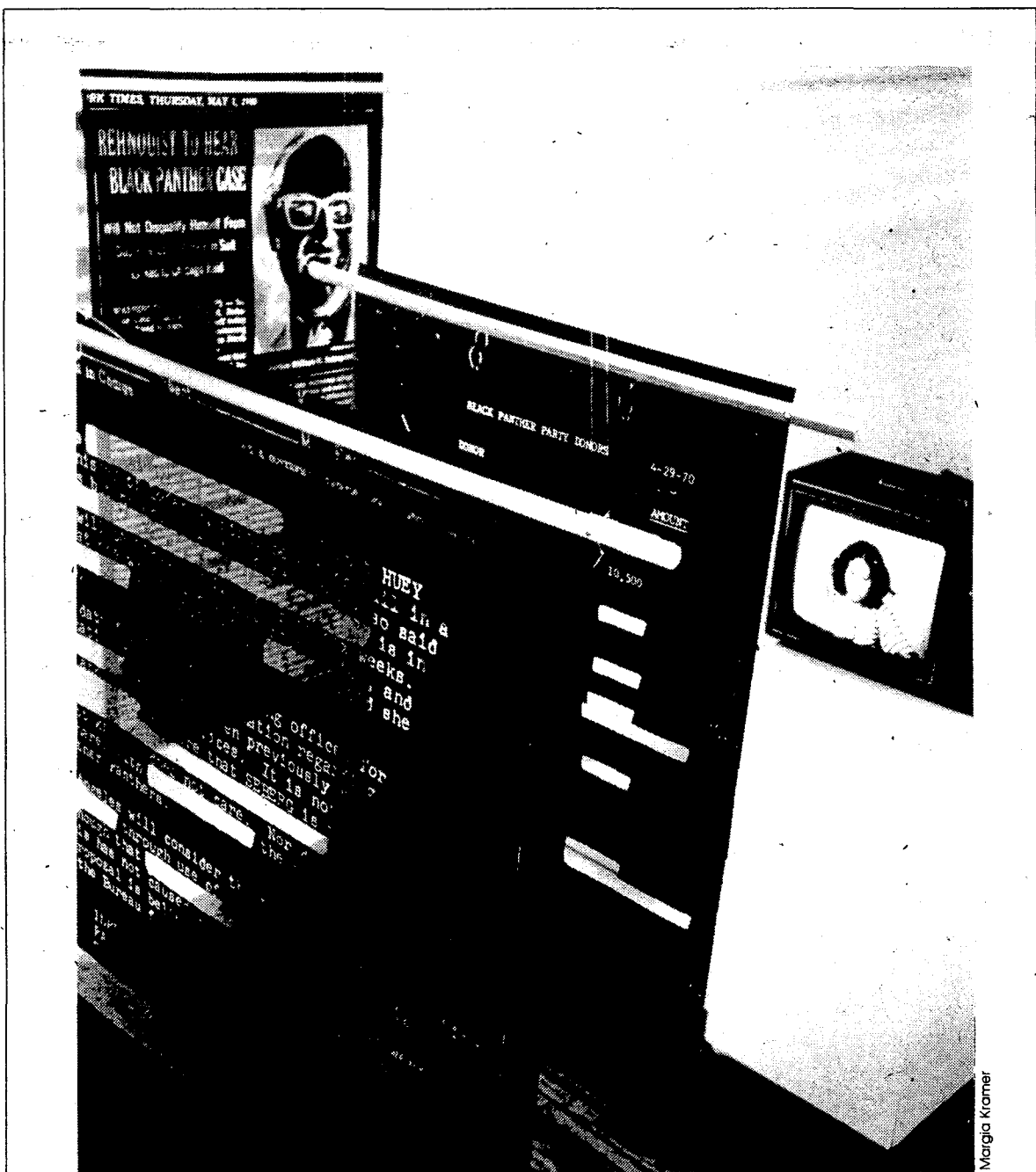
Susan Cowell writes on media issues in New York.

This documentary counters the low public image of unions.



Hospital workers make attentive audiences for productions that show their work as important.

VISUAL ARTS



Margia Kramer

The installations of New York documentary artist Margia Kramer, recently on view in Toronto and Chicago, focus on the subject of surveillance. Currently Kramer uses material from the life of Jean Seberg, who was under surveillance by the FBI and eventually committed suicide. Dominating the exhibits are giant black photostats of documents from the FBI's monitoring of Seberg that Kramer obtained through the Freedom of Information Act. The sheets appear totemic and threatening juxtaposed to the video tape, wistful pastiche of old film and TV clips of Seberg's acting work.

Kramer's latest video installation is on view at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, Sept. 17-Oct. 13.

—Judy Gordon

CHANGE JOBS

Change the World

SPECIAL OFFER! Get your first issue of *Community Jobs Absolutely Free*. Just fill out this no-risk subscription coupon today. We'll bill you later (\$8.88 for 9 more issues - 30% off the cover price!) If you don't wish to subscribe, write "cancel" on the bill and keep your first issue free - no obligation!

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP _____

1704 R Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009
Published monthly by The Youth Project, a non-profit organization.

COMMUNITY JOBS

ITT-8130

Every year *Community Jobs* lists over 2,000 job-openings in community and social-change work nationwide. And every month, our special features help you get the job done. If you are a college student looking for an internship, a disgruntled worker looking for meaningful work, or an activist wanting to keep informed about what is really happening at the grassroots—you'll want to subscribe to *Community Jobs*.

CLASSIFIED

HELP WANTED

IN THESE TIMES advertising/promotion department needs help in coordinating its Fifth Anniversary greeting ad campaign. Volunteers in New York, Washington, D.C., Chicago, San Francisco and Los Angeles are especially needed. Contact: Bill Rehm, In These Times, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. (312) 488-4444.

TWO FULL-TIME coordinators for safe energy media group starting Oct. 1, 1981. Will coordinate ad production, national networking, media workshops. Writing, administrative skills required. Send resume to: Personnel Committee, SECC, 1536 16th St., NW, Washington, DC 20036.

IN THESE TIMES is looking for people to work evenings, part-time in their circulation department. If interested, call Pat Vander Meer at 489-4444.

GRAPHIC DESIGNER

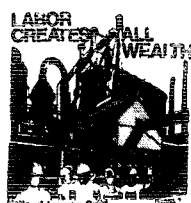
WANTED: GRAPHIC DESIGNER. Permanent part-time position at IN THESE TIMES is now open. Responsibilities include design & production of weekly publication, photo and illustration research and various administrative responsibilities. Hard work but position allows development of creative design. Full-time design experience necessary, publication design preferable. Salary negotiable. Send resume immediately to: Art Dept., In These Times, 1509 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60622.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR needed for the Coalition of American Electric Consumers, Inc., to coordinate citizen action, conservation education and regulatory and corporate reform of the American Electric Power Co. System. CAEC spans six states and has over 30 member groups. Applicants must have experience and demonstrate skills in communication, corporate and legal strategies, and community organizing. Location in Southwestern Virginia. Salary \$15-20,000. Send resume by Oct. 1, 1981, to Rose Gallagher, Chairperson, 543 S. Church St., Marion, VA 24354. Phone (703) 783-3029.

GENERAL MANAGER for a Midwest, consumer-owned, \$7 million food warehouse and mill. Must have experience / knowledge of planning models, zero-based budgeting, trucking, inventory control, worker participatory management, cooperative business and boards of directors. Send resume and salary requirements to: Box 249, Howe, IN 46746 by Sept. 21.



black on red.
tan, lt. blue.
6 1/2" each
(post. paid)
sizes small to
X large



Also available:
SURE, I'M A MARXIST
(w/graphic of Chico, Groucho, Harpo & Keri)
QUESTION AUTHORITY
EAT THE RICH
SPECIAL! 1/2
BORN AGAIN PACAN
plus lots of buttons too
send for free catalog
Mail to: Box 177
Northernsun Merchandising
1519 E. Franklin Avenue
Minneapolis, MN 55404

FINANCIAL ANALYST—Opening in Detroit for an economist in the UAW Research Department. Major responsibility is analysis and interpretation of corporate financial and economic data in support of collective bargaining, organizing and legal activities of the Union. Candidates should have at least M.A. in economics, be adept at basic statistics and have a problem-solving turn of mind. Courses in accounting useful. Ability to think clearly and write precisely and simply is absolutely necessary. We want someone with a skeptical view of the status quo and a social outlook in tune with a progressive labor union. Excellent starting salary and benefits. An equal opportunity employer. Send resume to: UAW Research Department, 8000 E. Jefferson, Detroit, MI 48214.

THE RHODE ISLAND FEMINIST Theatre seeks actor, director/member of business collective. Auditions Oct. 2. Call (401) 273-8654.

BUTTONS, POSTERS, ETC.

BUY AN AWARD-WINNING design T-Shirt and support the United Farmworkers! Send \$7.00 and size to TFUFW, 2722 McDowell Street, Durham, NC 27705 or save for gift catalogue.

"LET THEM EAT JELLYBEANS." "The Moral Majority Is Neither," "Member—Immoral Minority," "Unemployed," "Impeach Reagan," "Pro Choice." Buttons: 2 1/2" \$1.00; 10" \$4.00; 50" \$15.00; 100" \$25.00. Ellen Ingber, Box 752-T, Valley Stream, NY 11582.

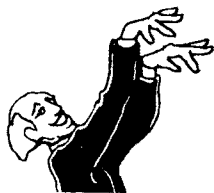
BUTTONS/BUMPERSTICKERS Custom-printed (union shop). Lowest Movement prices for 20 years! Largest variety anti-nuclear and other fund-raising items in stock. Free catalog...call (516) 791-7929. Larry Fox, Box M-8, Valley Stream, NY 11582.

"BREAD NOT BOMBS"; "Question Authority"; "The Moral Majority Is Neither"; "Don't Mourn, Organize"; "U.S. Out of El Salvador" buttons. "No More Vietnams"; "U.S. Out of El Salvador" bumperstickers \$1/two. "Stop Racist Attacks"; "This

SINCE 1978, the Detroit Alliance for a Rational Economy (DARE) has spearheaded a struggle against Mayor Coleman Young's program of tax abatements for corporations and austerity for the city's working people. As a Marxist elected to the City Council, DARE leader Ken Cockrel has been an outspoken champion of community struggles. In June, DARE dissolved. What did DARE accomplish during its three years of struggle? Why did it fail? What lessons can be learned for left independent urban politics? For answers to these questions, read the September Changes.

Every month, Changes offers in-depth analysis of American politics, the labor and social movements, the economy, and international news from Poland to El Salvador.

Subscribe to Changes
One year—\$10
Single issues—\$2
17300 Woodward / Detroit / MI / 48203



CONCERT TYPOGRAPHERS

"Virtuoso performance on the Compugraphic"

We've changed our name, but we're still fast, cheap and accurate. And we've got many new type faces to choose from. Whatever your typesetting needs are—from business cards to book manuscripts—we'll guarantee our work to your satisfaction.

For estimates, references and scheduling, contact: Jim Rinnert, Concert Typographers, 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622. (312) 489-4447

Insults Women"; "U.S. Out of El Salvador" labels \$1/fifty. Free catalog. Donnelly/Colt, Box 271-IT, New Vernon, NJ 07976.

"THE LEFT SHALL RISE AGAIN" bumpersticker, patriotic colors, \$1. Tasteful Products, Dept. J, 2138 Sommers, Madison, WI 53704.

PUBLICATIONS

FREE SPEECH and racist agitation; when is a word a deed? A respected linguist on free speech. Zionism and the Holocaust—\$2.00. Clarity Press, 175 5th Ave., 1101T, NYC, NY 10010.

GAY COMMUNITY NEWS—National weekly. News of Lavender Left; international gay news. Feminist, non-profit. \$6/12 issues. GCN. Dept. INT, 22 Bromfield St., Boston, MA 02108.

WHY NOAM CHOMSKY is wrong in Holocaust debate—a controversial view—see "Free Speech" classified.

SCIENCE AND MILITARISM—new issue of Science for the People Magazine; \$2.00, 897 Main St., Cambridge, MA 02139.

U.S. INTERVENTION IN EL SALVADOR. FDR, State Department, Latin America experts debate U.S. policy in Central America. 70 page symposium transcript. \$4. Stanford Central America Action Network, P.O. Box 2231, Stanford, CA 94305.

BOOKS

CHAPPAQUIDDICK — paperback by R.B. Cutler...smoothly executed "accident"...the Political Assassination of Edward Kennedy...\$6.00 ppd.: Cutler Designs, Box 1465, Manchester, MA 01944.

THE WOMAN'S INDEX. Informative, factual, and useful new book at your local library, bookstore, or send \$9.95. Guaranteed. Bibliotheca Press, Box 98378, Atlanta, GA 30359.

WAS ROSA LUXEMBURG RIGHT about the accumulation of capital? "Capitalism's Final Crisis," \$3.50 postpaid from United Struggle Press, 216 West 102nd St., New York, NY 10025, (212) 864-3126.

NORTHERN IRELAND: Books on the struggle for liberation, past and present. Write: Free Ireland Book Club, P.O. Box 3021 Daly City, CA 94015.

PEN American Center's crucial report on illegal surveillance and harassment of the 1960s and 1970s independent press. Citing government records and editors' files, G. Rips uncovers FBI, CIA, NSA, military and police attempts to silence antiwar, New Left, youth, women's and minority rights movements.



We are currently offering **Northern Lights** and **The War at Home** at a 10% discount. Excellent for organizing, classrooms, fundraisers, workshops, rallies, etc. Cassette or 16mm. Rent or purchase
New Front Films
1409 Willow Street
Minneapolis, MN 55403
(612) 872-0805

Additional articles by Todd Gitlin, Aryeh Neier, Angus Mackenzie and Allen Ginsberg. Many illustrations and documents. \$8.95 postpaid. City Lights Books, 261 Columbus Ave., San Francisco, CA 94133.

FLATIRON BOOK DISTRIBUTORS now represent Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative, Pluto Press, Riverrun Press, Falling Wall Press and Gay Men's Press. Books on politics, sociology, feminism, gay, theatre, art, quality literature, music and more. Catalogs from: 175 Fifth Avenue, Ste. 814, NYC 10010. Please add 50¢ for postage.

NEW: "White Paper? Whitewash! Philip Agee on the CIA and El Salvador." The book which led to the exposure of the State Department "White Paper" as a fraud. From: Deep Cover Books, P.O. Box 677, New York, NY 10013; paperback, \$6.50 plus \$1.50 postage; hardcover, \$12.95, plus \$1.75 postage.

"HISTORY of Work Cooperatives in America," by John Curl. The unknown radical collectivist tradition. "Important and fascinating" —Harvey Wasserman. \$4.25 Home-ward Press, P.O. Box 2307, Berkeley, CA 94702.

CONFERENCES

MOBILIZATION FOR ANIMAL RIGHTS: Conference '81—national training and mobilizing conference for activists concerned with the treatment of animals used for food, clothing and medical research. October 10-12, Ocean City, MD. Write: Animal Rights Network, Box 5234, Westport, CT 06881 for details.

ATTENTION

MOVING? Let In These Times be the first to know. Send us a current label from your newspaper along with your new address. Please allow 4-6 weeks to process the change. Send to: In These Times, Circulation Dept., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622.

KENNEDY—Organizing an exhibit for the benefit of handicapped children. I am seeking all documentation—books, magazines, records, campaign material and films from 1944-1980. Willing to pay for interesting material. Neyts Eddy, Korte Vulderstraat 15, Brugge 8000, Bel.

Guild Books & Periodicals

1118 W. Armitage
Chicago, Ill. 60614
(312) 525-3667

Literature • History • Politics
Art • Women • Minority Studies
Wide Selection—Periodicals
& Records • Books in Spanish
Come in and browse.

gium. Phone (050)332567. I will pay for the call.

ITT NEEDS HELP! Volunteers are needed for assorted clerical duties. Please contact Al Staats, ITT, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. 312-489-4444.

RESOURCES

COMMUNITY ECONOMICS? Free publication list on issues of limited-equity cooperative housing, tenant-initiated cooperative conversions, community-based economic development, socially responsible pension fund investments, and rural development. Write Community Economics, Attn. I.T., 1904 Franklin St., #900, Oakland, CA 94612.

THE GREAT ATLANTIC Radio Conspiracy now in its 10th year of alternative broadcasting presents a new series of low-cost educational tapes including Prison Poetry, Learning Without Schools, After the Bomb Drops, Arab-Israeli Conflict, Dorothy Day, Women and Health Care, Politics of Fat, and more. For a free annotated brochure, write GARC, 2743T Maryland Ave., Baltimore, MD 21218.

ORGANIZATIONS

JOIN THE Society of Evangelistic Agnostics. Box 515, Auberry, CA 93602. Free literature.

ADVENTURE

WHAT, NO YACHT? Rent one of our kayaks and paddle down Michigan's scenic Black River—no wild-water, just wildlife. We drop you off and pick you up. Only \$10.00, 3-6 hours, depending on river. West Coast Kayaks, 411 1/2 Phoenix St., South Haven, MI 49090. (616) 637-5447.

SERVICES

AL STAATS & ASSOCIATES—management consulting firm serving the public interest community. Specializing in publishing, direct mail, membership and fundraising and media outreach. For more information, please write or call ASA, 541 W. Oakdale, Suite 401, Chicago, IL 60657; 312-935-0648.

MODERN BOOKSTORE

407 S. Dearborn St. Suite 230
Chicago, IL 60605
312/663-9076



Midwest's widest selection of Marxist literature on Black & Labor History, Women, The Socialist World, Africa, Philosophy, Economics, Literature, etc. In English, Spanish & Persian.

Mon. thru Sat. 10-6

Let them eat...
Haven't a thing to wear Sept. 19?



Demonstrate in style!
Four-color silkscreen on white cotton tees.
Sizes: sm/med/lg/x-lg
6.95 includes postage

GREAT ARROW GRAPHICS
1685 Elmwood Ave. Buffalo, NY 14207
(716) 874-5819

Write your own classified ad here:

Classifieds

45¢ per word prepaid

Special Discounts

3-9 insertions 40¢ per word
10-19 insertions 35¢ per word
20+ insertions 30¢ per word

Send to:

1509 N. Milwaukee Ave.
Chicago, IL 60622

THANKS TO MODERN MEDICINE, many of us are now able to die over a protracted period of time, thus substantially increasing the GNP and the rate of inflation to boot.

Politicians have caught wind of the death business. Jerry Brown calculates it this way: "A worker who makes \$10,000 a year contributes \$100,000 over 10 years to the GNP. But if this worker gets cancer and receives quality-care treatment, his disease can contribute (via the health services it generates) over \$100,000 to the GNP in just one year." A million dollars in one decade if he can be kept alive that long. So in the current system, dying can be worth more to the nation than living.

Free-market propagandists seem more than willing to support the unabated flow of marginal medical technology, and to provide incentives for institutions that profit from the grandiose momentum of machines and techniques.

Jude Wanniski, formerly of the *Wall Street Journal* and now an adroit spokesman for the economic ideas of pro-Reagan theorist Arthur Laffer, put it this way in a *Village Voice* interview: "It's not demand that moves the economy. It's supply. Every individual on the face of the planet will demand as much as he or she can consume the few years he has on earth...and we want to maximize the individual's ability to fulfill his potential." Even, apparently, if that potential is death.

But health costs will only rise with this economic logic. As Dr. David Thompson, director of New York Hospital, puts it, "The system is set up to pay for the most expensive means of treatment, rather than the most economical or efficient. It's crazy."

Strange perhaps, and no doubt disturbing, but not really crazy. Health care is inherently a seller's market (a supply-sider's dream if there ever was one). You make only one decision—to see a doctor. From that point on the doctors and the hospitals take over. When your trusted family physician of 20 years looks down his bifocals, and in his worn and monotonous but sincere voice says, "We need to run a few tests..." (and there's no incentive not to), he may be taking you down a garden path that leads to an unchecked buying extravaganza in a vast and unfamiliar technological landscape.

The whole bazaar, not surprisingly, is sponsored by some of the Fortune 500 elite. Also instrumental in rising costs are government and private insurance payments, which have managed to remove many of the effective limits on demand (another victory for the supply-siders), and thus on prices.

In a competitive free-market economy, insurance companies should represent the public interest by keeping hospital costs down, sending teams of examiners into hospitals to scrutinize bills and save people money. No such luck.



Illustration by Matt Wuerker

D E A T H on the Installment Plan

By Gideon Bosker

Says *Village Voice* writer Alexander Cockburn, "The crucial cog in the inflationary health-care system is Blue Cross (and Blue Shield)." According to him, "the hospital generates costs with its left hand; these costs are then scrutinized, and approved by its right hand in the shape of Blue Cross, which shovels the resulting bill onto the government and hence the taxpayer."

Health and hardware.

Our soaring national health bill totaled more than \$200 billion in 1980—more than 10 percent of the GNP. The greatest fraction of that astounding figure can be attributed to the proliferation of technological innovations. So expensive are these gadgets that, according to Dr. Richard Corlin, president of the Los Angeles County Medical Association, "We are now in a position to spend the entire national budget on medical tests and procedures."

The crisis of health costs, argues Howard Waitzkin, a physician and associate professor at the University of California at Berkeley, reflects the exploitive relationship between corporations and the sick and dying. He cites a 1973 annual report from Hewlett Packard, a company with a lion's share of medical electronics business: "Health-care expenditures, worldwide, will con-

tinue to increase significantly in the years ahead, and a growing portion of these funds will be allocated for medical electronics equipment. Interestingly, this growth trend offers the company the unique opportunity to help shape the future of health-care delivery."

"Apparent irrationalities of health policy make sense only when seen from the standpoint of the capitalist profit structure," suggests the Berkeley professor. The "overselling" of technologic advances, such as CAT scanners, coronary care units and fetal monitoring devices, reflects structural problems. The "commodification of health care and its associated technology" has resulted in a crisis of overproduction—a notion that would drive a sincere supply-sider directly to the coronary care unit (CCU).

Writing in the *American Journal of Public Health*, Waitzkin chooses CCUs as one example of our inability to contain costs and suppress the production of inadequately proven medical technology.

So go home.

Despite the rapid increases in the growth of CCUs between 1967 and 1974, serious research on the effectiveness of CCUs in improving patient survival did not begin until the '70s. Although by 1967 almost 25 percent of American hospitals had built CCUs (at a cost of over \$1 million each), the chief of the Heart Disease Control Program of the Public Health Service's clinical branch claimed at a 1968 conference, "We do not have proper studies for demonstrating the advantages of CCUs."

Many studies looking at the effectiveness of CCUs have been undertaken in Great Britain. In the latest, researchers conclude that "for the majority of patients with suspected heart attacks, admission to a CCU confers no clear advantage." Although the issues are far from settled, recent investigations indicate that home care is a worthwhile alternative treatment to hospitalization.

Bernard Bloom of the Department of Research Medicine at the University of Pennsylvania also admits that the use of poorly-tested medical technology and procedures "is an unfortunate but all-too-common occurrence in our health- and medical-care system. Therapies are often devised, accepted and proliferate rapidly on the weakest evidence."

If CCU technology has not been shown to be more effective than home care, how does one explain the tremendous proliferation during the past two decades of this very expensive form of treatment? Tracing the development of CCU technology by Hewlett Packard and the American Optical Company—whose efforts were supported by Harvard and Stanford universities—Waitzkin shows that private industrial organizations and universities started the trend toward CCUs with the support of philanthropies and government agencies. By questioning what the present system—and its inherent motivations—does with our hearts, suggests the Berkeley physician, "we get closer to the heart of many of our other problems."

I find all this unsettling. With all those machines they're using for tests and operations, the doctors and nurses and orderlies, and the recovery periods in the CCU—all in vain—some big companies are making a pretty penny on our dying days. Buy by now, we should know that money can't buy you...

Gideon Bosker is an Oregon doctor who writes for a variety of alternative newspapers. This article in longer form won the "Best Column Award" from the Oregon Newspaper Publishers Association, 1981.